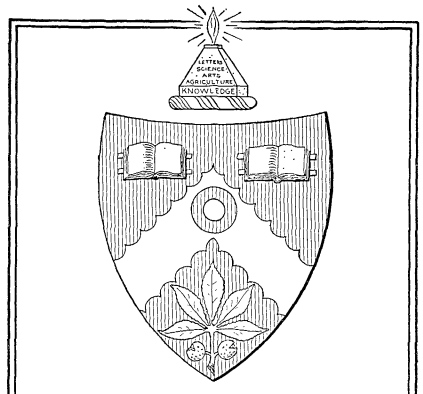


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HISTORY OF HAMPTON COURT PALACE

IN STUART TIMES.



— King James I. & his sonne Charles feastinge y^e^ Spanishe Ambassadoures. —

Nov^r^ 18. 1623.

From a rare Print in the British Museum.

THE

HISTORY

OF

Hampton Court Palace.

VOL II.

STUART TIMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER PLATES, ETCHINGS, ENGRAVINGS, ETC.

BY

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Preface.

THE following pages form the Second Volume of the History of Hampton Court, and aim at giving a complete narrative of all the events, that occurred at this Palace, from the beginning of the reign of James I. to the end of that of James II. Like the first volume of this History—in Tudor Times—its scope is designed also to embrace such an account of the artistic and archæological features of the Palace and its contents, as may serve to invest the many historical incidents that occurred within its walls, in Stuart Times, with a local "colouring," which, it is hoped, may add something to their vividness and interest.

In strictness, perhaps, a volume dealing with the times of the Stuarts should have included the reign of Queen Anne. But an epoch so distinctly new opens after the Revolution, and a landmark so great is formed in the History of Hampton Court by the accession of William of Orange, on account of his great additions and alterations in the structure of the Palace, and in the Gardens and the Parks, that the close of the reign of James II. seemed the most appropriate point at which to conclude the present volume.

It was originally the author's intention to complete the History of Hampton Court in this Second Volume. But the work expanded so much in the process of composition, that it soon became evident that to do so would either render the book inconveniently bulky, or else entail the omission of much that seemed essential, if a true picture was to be presented of life at Hampton Court in the olden time.

Consequently, the last hundred years of the History of the Palace will be relegated to a third volume, which will complete these annals down to the present time, and contain a detailed index to the whole work.

Of the illustrations, which are necessarily of considerable importance in a work of this sort, it need only be said that part of them are taken from original drawings specially executed for this work, while the rest are engravings from old historical pictures at Hampton Court, and reproductions from contemporary sketches and plates.

In conclusion, the author wishes again to express his obligations to the various officials connected with the Palace, who have most cordially rendered him every assistance in his researches.

HAMPTON COURT PALACE,
October, 1888.

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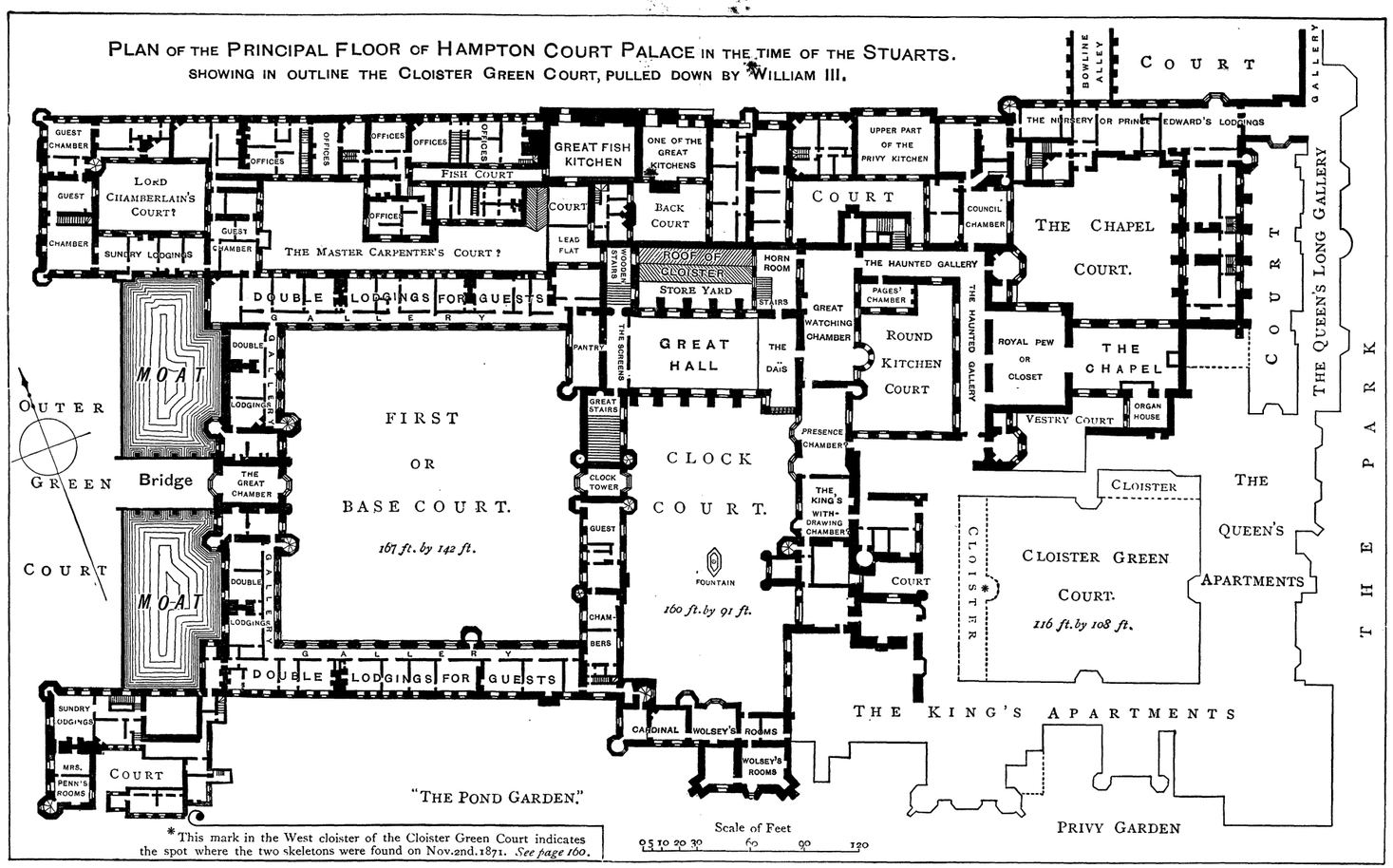
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PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL FLOOR OF HAMPTON COURT PALACE IN THE TIME OF THE STUARTS.
SHOWING IN OUTLINE THE CLOISTER GREEN COURT, PULLED DOWN BY WILLIAM III.



* This mark in the West cloister of the Cloister Green Court indicates the spot where the two skeletons were found on Nov. 2nd. 1871. *See page 160.*

HISTORY

OF

HAMPTON COURT PALACE

IN STUART TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

JAMES I. AT HAMPTON COURT—A GRAND CHRISTMAS.

King James comes to Hampton Court—Summons the Country Gentlemen to come and be Knighted, or compound by paying Fines—Creates a large Batch of New Peers—The Noble Order of Baronets—Resolves to spend Christmas at Hampton Court—A Grand Masque by the Poet Daniel ordered—Letter of Lady Arabella Stuart—Jealousies of the Foreign Ambassadors—The Plague—Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe ransacked for Dresses for the Masque—Inigo Jones designs the Scenic Effects for Masques—Ferrabosco's Music—Account of Daniel—Great Concourse of Visitors at the Palace—Running at the Ring—Numerous Plays performed in the Great Hall—The King's Company of Players at Hampton Court—Shakespeare probably present—"Robin Goodfellow"—Interludes and Masquerades—Grand Banquets—Wranglings between the French and Spanish Ambassadors.

JAMES I. had not been long on the throne of England when, desiring to behold in turn all the palaces of his new kingdom, he came from Windsor Castle to reside for a short time at Hampton Court. He had been here only a day or two, when he issued a proclamation which must have

brought home with clearness to the minds of his new subjects, how the rule they had now come under, differed from that of Queen Elizabeth, and how completely the romantic element that had invested her era with such lustre was closed for ever. During the past reign the dignity of knighthood had been conferred only as a special mark of royal favour on men distinguished for great and gallant services to their sovereign and country; and it was an honour that heroes bearing names of such imperishable renown as Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Walter Raleigh, were ambitious to deserve, proud to receive, and jealous to guard. It derived likewise a special value from being a personal, and not an hereditary distinction. But the canny Scotch King James, with the sordid and mercenary ideas that tainted even that which most nearly concerned his kingly honour, saw in it only a means of lining with good English gold his by no means too amply filled pockets. It must be said, however, that the suggestion is stated to have first come from the Earl of Salisbury, who is credited with having urged it on James, telling him "he should find his English subjects like asses, on whom he might lay any burden; and should need neither bit nor bridle, but their own asses' ears." When the King objected that it might discontent the generality of the gentry: "Tush, Sire," he replied, "you want the money, that will do you good; the honour will do them very little harm."[1]

Thus it was that on the 17th of July, 1603, he issued from Hampton Court a general summons to all persons who had £40 a year in land, or upwards, to come and receive the honour of knighthood (of course with the obligation of paying the necessary fees);[2] or, if they declined a proffered dignity thus cheapened and vulgarized, they

[1] Sir Anthony Weldon's *Character of James I.*
[2] Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi., p. 530.

were enjoined to compound for the audacity of so doing, by the payment of substantial fines to the Royal Commissioners appointed for that purpose. Three days after, in compliance with the King's gracious summons, two gentlemen, Mr. John Gammes of Radnorshire and Mr. William Cave of Oxfordshire, presented themselves at Hampton Court,[1] and were the first to receive knighthood at the hands of his Majesty. These two, however, were but a small and insignificant advance guard, when compared to the vast main body of troops of country gentlemen already on the march towards London from all parts of England and Wales. They flocked, indeed, in such numbers, that six days after the issue of the summons there were awaiting the King's pleasure several hundred would-be knights. Accordingly James came up, on the 22nd of July, from Hampton Court to Whitehall; and there, on the following day, disposed of the first batch of no less than three hundred knights. The exertion of giving the accolade to so many persons would naturally be a very laborious one on a hot July day; so the ceremony was appointed to take place in the Royal Gardens.

In addition to this, as will be remembered, King James, later on in his reign,[2] when rather hard up for cash, hit upon the expedient of founding "the noble order of Baronets," who were each of them to pay a fee of £1,000 on creation, and were in return for the honour conferred on them, "to defend and ameliorate the condition of the Province of Ulster, aid towards the building of churches, towns, and castles, and proffer their lives, fortunes, and estates to hazard in the performance of this duty," and "maintain and keep thirty soldiers there." Some of our modern baronets would be rather aghast if called on to

[1] Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i., p. 204.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 419.

render any such services in return for the honours they bear!

In the meanwhile the King had also been proportionately lavish with the higher honour of the peerage; and on the 21st of July he created, with great ceremonial, in the Great Hall of Hampton Court, eleven peers, in the presence of the Queen and the Court. Altogether during his reign he conferred as many as a hundred and eleven peerages, about seven times as many, in a reign of twenty-two years, as his predecessor, Queen Elizabeth, had created in a reign of twice that duration.

Soon after this, the King and Queen went on a progress in the southern counties, until about the beginning of the month of December, when they resolved to move to Hampton Court for the ensuing festive season. Probably the recollection of the splendid entertainments of which this Palace had been the scene during the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns, and especially of the late Queen, suggested it as the most appropriate royal residence in which to celebrate their first Christmastide after their advent to the throne. Of all the English palaces it was then, as it is now, the most spacious; and, with its magnificent suite of reception rooms, the most adapted for brilliant Court gaieties. The desire of the King and Queen to rival the splendour of their predecessors doubtless had weight with them in selecting a grand masque, to be written by Samuel Daniel, as the principal feature of the festivities, for it was just about this time that these entertainments were beginning to be popular. Towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign they had gradually tended towards the form they eventually assumed under the skilful hands of Ben Jonson, and were, in fact, developing from mere masquerades or mummings into dramatic representations of a high lyrical order, which found their noblest embodiment in Milton's sublime poem, "Comus."

It will be interesting, therefore, not only to give some account of the Court festivities at this season, but also to give a particular description of Daniel's masque, because it was, in a certain sense, the first true masque ever presented, and because it holds a position midway between the earlier revels of Tudor times and the more finished compositions into which they afterwards developed.[1]

The first notice we have of the preparations for the gaieties in prospect is in a letter of the beautiful and accomplished, but ill-fated Lady Arabella Stuart, the story of whose loves and misfortunes is so pathetically told in Isaac D'Israeli's "Curiosities of Literature." Her letter is dated, "Hampton Court, December the 18th," and is addressed to Lord Shrewsbury.[2] Having noticed that the Queen arrived on Friday, the 16th, she goes on :—"The King will be here to-morrow. The Polonian Ambassador shall have audience on Thursday next. The Queen intendeth to make a masque this Christmas, to which end my Lady Suffolk and my Lady Walsingham hath warrant to take of the late Queen's best apparel out of the Tower of their discretion. Certain noblemen (whom I may not yet name to you because some of them have made me of their counsel) intend another. Certain gentlemen of good sort another. It is said there shall be 30 plays. The King will feast all the Ambassadors this Christmas."

Sir Dudley Carleton also writes on the 22nd from London, where he had apparently gone for the day, to his "assured friend Mr. John Chamberlain":[3]—"Sir, we have left Salisbury plains to the frost and snow, and the pleasant walks at

[1] The account which follows of Daniel's masque, *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, is abridged from the author's pamphlet, published in 1880, entitled *A Royal Masque at Hampton Court*, descriptive of the whole festivities, with a reprint of the masque.

[2] *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iv., p. 1061.

[3] *State Papers, Domestic, James I.*, vol. v., No. 20.

Wilton to as good dirt as ever you saw in Smithfield when it is at the best, and coming to Hampton Court were there welcomed with fogs and mists, which make us march blindfold; and we fear we shall now stumble into the sickness, which till now we have miraculously scaped. We shall have a merry Christmas at Hampton Court, for both male and female masques are all ready bespoken, whereof the Duke is *rector chori* of the one side, and the Lady Bedford of the other. After Christmas, if the sickness cease, we shall come to Whitehall."

The reception of the ambassadors whom Lady Arabella Stuart mentions, was not unattended, we shall find, with those petty jealousies and continual bickerings in which the representatives of foreign Courts seem to have spent the greater part of their time.

Quarrels about precedence, offence taken because one ambassador was asked to dinner when another was not, and struggles to get lodgings in the royal palace formed their chief occupation, and caused endless annoyance to the King's ministers. These absurd contests never ceased till the custom prevailed that the precedence of ambassadors should be determined according to the time they have been accredited to any particular Court.

The prevalence of the plague, to which Dudley Carleton refers, might well have thrown a gloom over the whirl of gaieties. By this time, however, its virulence had much abated, the deaths in London being only three or four hundred a week, whereas they had been as many thousands.

The rifling of Queen Elizabeth's wardrobes to supply dresses for the masque is of a piece with all the acts of King James. Even before he had left Scotland, in the spring, he had written to the Council requesting them to send up some of the Queen's jewels and robes in order to deck out his wife

with becoming splendour, and was much vexed because they refused, having, they said, no authority to send such things out of the kingdom. When her late Majesty's treasures came to be sorted, there were found no less than 500 robes, all of the greatest magnificence, some of which she appeared to have worn but once. They cannot have been very well adapted for turning into the classical costumes required for the masque. But though the designs were probably deficient in archæological accuracy, it does not appear that Anne of Denmark perpetrated such a violation of taste on this occasion, as she did on another, when she acted a Grecian goddess in a fardingale! The Duke who is mentioned by Dudley Carleton as director of the gentlemen's masque was Lodowick Stuart, Duke of Lennox. He was a first cousin of the King's, and married, some years after this, Frances, Lady Hertford, one of the performers in the masque.

The scenery and mechanical appliances for the masque were probably designed by Inigo Jones. He had just returned from Denmark, where he had been staying with the Queen's brother, Christian IV., from whom he brought letters of recommendation, that soon procured him the office of architect to the Queen. His name is frequently mentioned in subsequent years as the designer of the scenic effects in the many masques given at Court, nor was his share in these entertainments considered of less importance than that of the author. The great architect, indeed, seems to have taken considerable pride in his contributions to these entertainments; and Ben Jonson's omission on one occasion to confess the value of his assistance nearly led to a serious breach between them. Once, when the principal effect was obtained by the revolving of a large globe, on which various pictures were represented, Inigo Jones did not disdain to do the duty of scene-shifter and turn

the machinery himself, so important did he regard these matters.

With respect to the music of the masque, nothing positive can be ascertained. All that we know is, that Master Alphonso Ferrabosco, "a man planted by himself in that divine sphere and mastering all the spirits of music," as Ben Jonson says of him, was a frequent composer of the music of the marches and songs interspersed in these charming trifles. What remains of his compositions fully leads us to endorse the high opinion held of him by his contemporaries, and he may well have employed his talents on this occasion.

Samuel Daniel, the author of the masque, was born in 1562, and by the time of which we are treating, had achieved a very considerable reputation as a writer of graceful and polished verse. His "Complaint of Rosamund," and his "Sonnets to Delia," and other small poems, were particularly well known, and had given him a position among the poets of the age which modern times have hardly confirmed to him; though Mr. Collier does not hesitate to class him with Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Spenser as one of the four great Elizabethan poets. Early in the year 1603, he had been selected to write "A Panegyric Congratulatory," presented to the King on his visit to Harrington-Burley, now called Burley-on-the-Hill, which belonged at that time to Sir John Harrington, father of the famous Lucy, Countess of Bedford, to whom he dedicated the masque, who took a leading part in getting it up, and who seems to have been throughout the directing genius of it.

The success of the "Panegyric," combined doubtless with the influence of this lady, pointed him out as the most fitting person to write the Queen's masque. From this time Daniel's advancement was unbroken. He became a great favourite with the Queen, and she soon made

him a gentleman-in-waiting extraordinary, and afterwards a groom-in-waiting of her privy chamber. He was also appointed "Master of the Queen's Children of the Revells," who were to be trained for the acting of stage plays, and whose education he had to supervise.

The exact date of this appointment does not appear; but at the latest it must have been soon after the performance of the "Vision of the Twelve Goddesses," as on January 31st, 1604, we find an order that all plays to be acted by the Queen's revellers were to be submitted to Samuel Daniel. Shakespeare, it would seem, was also a candidate for this office, for in a letter of Daniel's to Sir Thomas Egerton, thanking him for procuring him the place, occurs this passage: "It seemeth to myne humble judgement, that one who is the authour of playes now daylie presented on the public stage of London, and the possessor of no small gaines, and moreover *himselfe an actor* in the King's Companie of Comedians, could not with reason pretend to be M^r^ of the Queene's Majesty's Revells, forasmuch as he wold sometimes be asked to approve and allow his own writings" —a reference that can apply to no one but Shakespeare, who was the only playwright in the company.[1]

The names of the twelve ladies who took part in the masque were discovered by the author in a curious copy of the first edition of the masque preserved in the British Museum, in which they are inserted in a handwriting of the time. They will be given further on; and they are instructive as affording evidence how soon Anne of Denmark gathered round her the ladies to whom she clung for the rest of her life; while it is worthy of note that every one of them afterwards became famous, or at least notorious, in the annals of this reign.

[1] Halliwell's *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 205; and Collier's *New Facts*, ed. 1835, p. 48.

With as many as twelve ladies, who were not on the best of terms with each other, Daniel and the stage managers must have had no small amount of trouble. Modern private theatrical experience suggests the sort of difficulties that would arise: the contention as to who should do this part, and who that; the dissatisfaction of ladies with their costumes, and so on. However, in this case the rehearsals seem to have gone off without any very serious contests—at least, none serious enough to be noted by the chroniclers of that day.

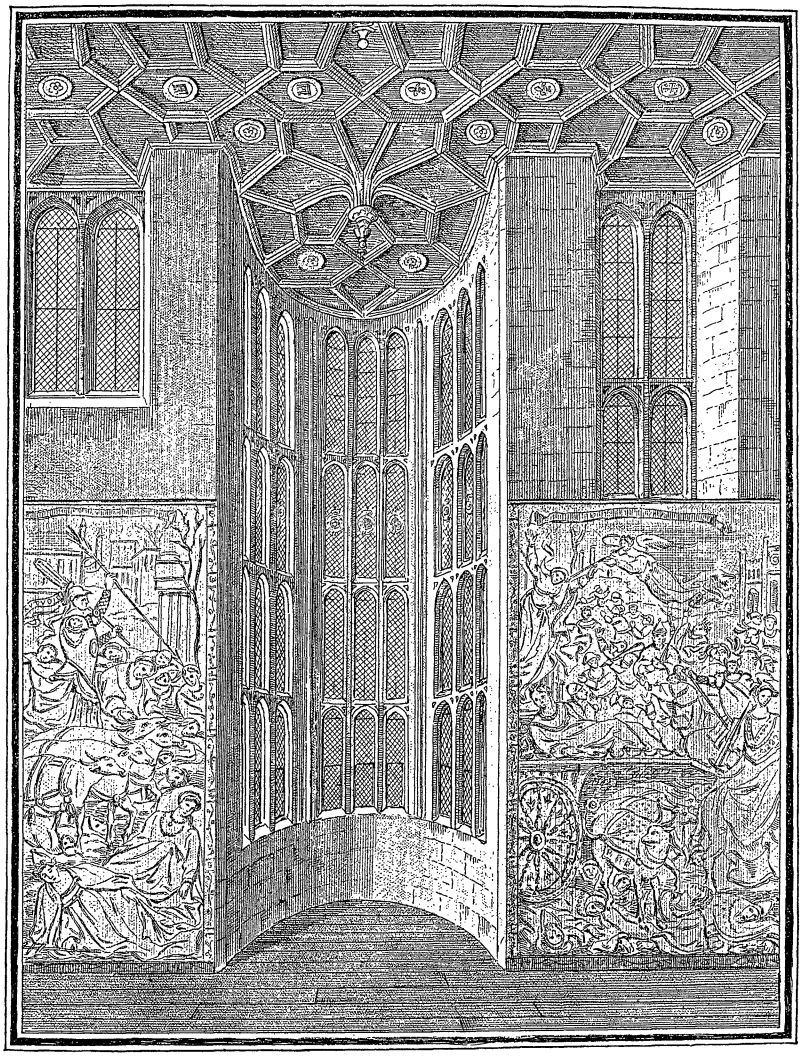
Among the Record Office papers, in an old account, half worm-eaten and decayed with damp, there is an entry for work done in relation to this masque:—

Item, Paid for making readie the lower ende, with certain Roomes of the Hall at Hampton Court for the Queene's Mat^y^ and ladies against their masque by the space of three dayes.[1]

From this we gather that the old pantry behind the "screens" at the lower end of the hall was set apart as a "tyring-room," or green room, for the Queen and her ladies, and the Great Watching Chamber at the upper end put at their disposal for rehearsals—as had been the custom in Queen Elizabeth's time.[2]

In the meanwhile there was no lack of amusement and occupation for the rest. The whole world was flocking to Hampton Court; ambassadors to offer their congratulations, nobles and gentlemen to testify their loyalty to their new sovereign, and crowds of needy adventurers on the look out for the honours, pensions, and places which were being showered in such profusion by James on his new subjects. The crowd was so great that even with upwards of 1,200 rooms, besides outbuildings, the Palace could not

[1] *Exchequer Q. R. Household and Wardrobe Accounts.* $\frac{8}{1}\frac{2}{}$.
[2] See vol. i., p. 319.



Bay Window in the Great Watching Chamber.

contain the numbers of retainers and servants that congregated here, so that tents had to be set up in the park to shelter them. Every day there were festivities: banquets, receptions of ambassadors, balls, masquerades, plays, tennis matches, and a grand running at the tilt. These extracts from the old accounts make it appear that the timid King summoned up sufficient courage on the occasion to take part in this tilting match :—

Paid to Sir Richard Coningsbie for making readie the gallorie with other roomes in M^r^ Huggins' lodgings at Hampton Courte for his Mat^y^ to (dine ?) with the Lordes and Knightes after the running at the Tylt for the space of two days mens: Januarii 1603.

Item for making readie a standing for the Queene's Majestie in the Parke at Hampton Courte to see the Kinge's Majestie and the Lordes running at the Ringe.[1]

In Lady Arabella Stuart's letter of the 18th of December mention is made of thirty plays to be acted ; and there is an entry in the old accounts of money paid for "making readie the Hall for the plays against Christmas." The number "thirty" must probably be set down to the exaggeration of a vivacious mind, but that there were many is evident from an account given in a letter of Dudley Carleton's to John Chamberlain, dated the 15th of January, 1604. It is among the State Papers in the Record Office, and has never before been printed.[1] It contains an interesting picture of the celebration of the "Grand Christmas" at the Palace this year.

"We have had a merry Christmas and nothing to disquiet us save brabbles amongst our ambassadors, and one or two poor companions that died of the plague. The first

[1] *Exchequer Q. R., Household and Wardrobe Accounts.* $\frac{82}{1}$.

[2] *State Papers, Domestic, James I.*, vol. vi., No. 21.

holidays we had every night a public play in the great hall, at which the King was ever present, and liked or disliked as he saw cause: but it seems he takes no extraordinary pleasure in them. The Queen and Prince were more the players' friends, for on other nights they had them privately, and have since taken them to their protection. On New Year's night we had a play of 'Robin Goodfellow.'"

This and the other plays were performed by the "King's Company of Comedians," who had been incorporated by a warrant of King James a few months before this.[1] Prominent among their names—coming, in fact, second on the roll—is that of William Shakespeare; and we make no doubt that he was staying with the rest of his company in this Palace at this Christmas time, and that his plays were performed before the Court. They were "freely to use and exercise the arts and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralls, pastoralls, stage plaies, and such other like, as thei have already studied, or hereafter shall use or studie, as well for the recreation of our loving subjects, as for our solace and pleasure, when we shall think good to use them." That they were at Hampton Court this Christmas is evident from the "Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber," among which is the following entry:[2]—

To John Hemynges one of his Ma^ties players uppon the Councells Wārrant dated at Hampton Court 18 *January* 1603 *for the paynes and expences of himself and the rest of his companye in presentinge of sixe interludes or playes before the Kings Ma^tie and prince viz. on St Stephens daye at night, St Johns day at night, Innocents daye and New yere's daye at night before the kings Ma^tie for each of the sayde*

[1] For the warrant, see Halliwell's *Life of Shakespeare*, and *Chapter House Privy Seal Papers*, No. 71. It is dated the 7th of May, 1603.

[2] See *Extracts from Revels Accounts*, published by the Shakespeare Society.

playes twentie nobles apeece and to them by waye of his Ma^ties^ rewarde fyve marks, and for twoe playes before the prince on the xxx^th^ of December and the ffirste of Januarye 1603 *twentie nobles apeece in all amountinge to the some of Liii £.*

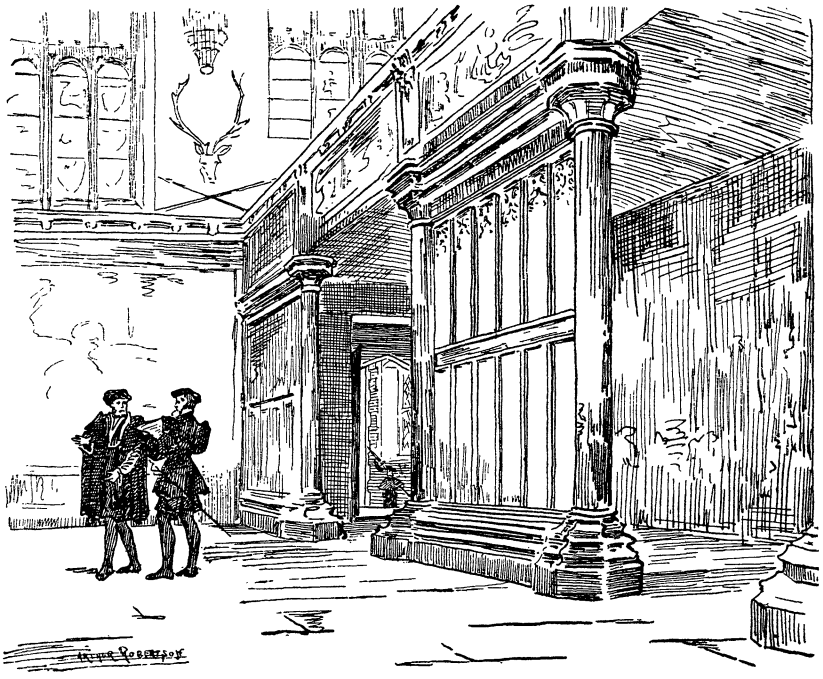
The date 1603 is, of course, the Old Style for what we should call 1604. Dudley Carleton has told us that the play on New Year's night was "Robin Goodfellow." No copy of this play exists;[1] but the "mad prankes and merrie jestes" of this mythical personage seem to have been introduced into many plays besides "A Midsummer Night's Dream." Perhaps the particular one acted by Hemynges, Shakespeare, and Burbage, and the rest of the company, was that by Henry Chettle, which he was writing in September, 1602, and for which two entries for money paid are inserted in Henslow's diary.

It was at the lower end of the hall in front of the "screenes," as they were called, that the stage was always erected when the plays were erected here, and many a time the players in Shakespeare's company, including probably himself, made their entrances and exits through the openings shown in the accompanying sketch.

We will now resume Dudley Carlton's account of the Christmas festivities. After mentioning the play of "Robin Goodfellow," he proceeds to describe a "Masque brought in by a magician of China," which was acted on the same night:—"There was a heaven built at the lower end of the hall, out of which our magician came down, and after he had made a long sleepy speech to the King of the nature of the country from whence he came, comparing it with ours for strength and plenty, he said he had brought in clouds certain Indian and China knights to see the magnificency of this Court, and thereupon a travers (*i.e.* a curtain) was drawn, and

[1] See Collier's Introduction to *A Midsummer Night's Dream.*

the masquers seen sitting in a vaulty place with their torch-bearers and other lights, which was no unpleasing spectacle. The masquers were brought in by two boys and two musicians, who began with a song, and whilst that went forward they presented themselves to the King. The first gave the



The Screens in the Great Hall.

King an impresa in a shield with a sonnet in a paper to express this device, and presented a jewel of 40,000 crowns value which the King is to buy of Peter van Lore, but that is more than every man knew, and it made a fair show to the French ambassador's eye, whose master would have

been well pleased with such a masquer's present, but not at that price. The rest in their order delivered their escutcheons with letters; and there was no great stay at any of them save only at one who was put to the interpretation of his device. It was a fair horse colt in a fair green field, which he meant to be a colt of Bucephalus' race, and had this virtue of his sire, that none could mount him but one as great at least as Alexander. The King made himself merry with threatening to send this colt to the stable, and he could not break loose till he promised to dance as well as Bankes's horse.[1] The first measure was full of changes and seemed confused, but was well gone through withal. And for the ordinary measures they took out the Queen, the ladies of Derby, Hertford, Suffolk, Bedford, Susan Vere, Southwell the elder, and Rich. In the corantoes they ran over some other of the young ladies, and so ended as they began with a song; and that done, the magician dissolved his enchantment, and made the masquers appear in their likeness to be the Earl of Pembroke,[2] the Duke, Monsieur d'Aubigny, young Somerset, Philip Herbert the young Bucephal, James Hayes, Richard Preston, and Sir Henry Godier. Their attire was rich, but somewhat too heavy and cumbersome for dances, which put them besides their galliards. They had loose robes of crimson satin embroidered with gold, and bordered with broad silver laces, and doublets of cloth of silver; buskins, swords, and hats alike, and in their hats each of them an Indian bird for a feather, with some jewels.

"The Twelfth-day the French ambassador was feasted publicly, and at night there was a play in the Queen's pre-

[1] This was a famous and clever horse called "Morocco," which belonged to one Bankes in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. His shoes, it is said, were of silver, and one of his exploits was the ascent of St. Paul's steeple!

[2] This was William Herbert, third Earl. His mother was the famous "Subject of all verse, Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother."

sence, with a masquerade of certain Scotchmen, who came in with a sword dance, not unlike a matachin, and performed it cleanly ; from thence the King went to dice, into his own presence, and lost 500 crowns, which marred a gamester ; for since he appeared not there, but once before was at it in the same place and parted a winner. The Sunday following was the great day of the Queen's masque, at which was present the Spanish and Polack ambassadors with their whole trains, and the most part of the Florentines and Savoyards, but not the ambassadors themselves, who were in so strong competition for place and precedence, that to displease neither it was thought best to let both alone. The like dispute was betwixt the French and the Spanish ambassador, and hard hold for the greatest honour, which the Spaniard thinks he hath carried away by being first feasted (as he was the first holiday and the Polack the next) and invited to the greatest masque, and the French seems to be greatly discontented that he was flatly refused to be admitted to the last, about which he used unmanly expostulations with the King, and for a few days troubled all the Court; but the Queen was fain to take the matter upon her, who as a masquer had invited the Spaniard, as the Duke before had done the French, and to have them there could not be without bloodshed."



CHAPTER II.

THE ROYAL MASQUE—VISION OF THE TWELVE GODDESSES.

The Day of the Grand Royal Masque—Profanation of the British Sabbath—Excitement in the Palace—Appearance of the Great Hall—The Scenery—The King enters—Brilliant Spectacle—The Masque begins—"Night" appears—"Sleep" awakened—"Iris"—"The Sibyl"—"The Three Graces"—"The Twelve Goddesses"—The Procession down the Mountain and up the Hall—The Songs and Dances—The Ladies' Dresses—The Goddesses retire—The Supper after the Masque—Scramble for Seats—Renewed Jealousies of the Ambassadors—Pirated Edition of the Masque—Plea for the Revival of the Old English Masques.

NOW at last "the great day," as Dudley Carleton calls it, towards which the Court had been looking forward for a full month, had come. It was on Sunday, the 8th of January, 1604, in the Great Hall of the Palace, that the grand representation of Daniel's "Vision of the Twelve Goddesses," took place. It may surprise some that a Sunday was chosen for so profane an entertainment; but it should be remembered that in England, until the days of the Puritans, the Sabbath was not observed with the rigour that it was afterwards. Plays, revels, bear-baiting, dancing, leaping, archery, &c., were not only allowed, but encouraged. For King James, soon after the time we are treating of, pub-

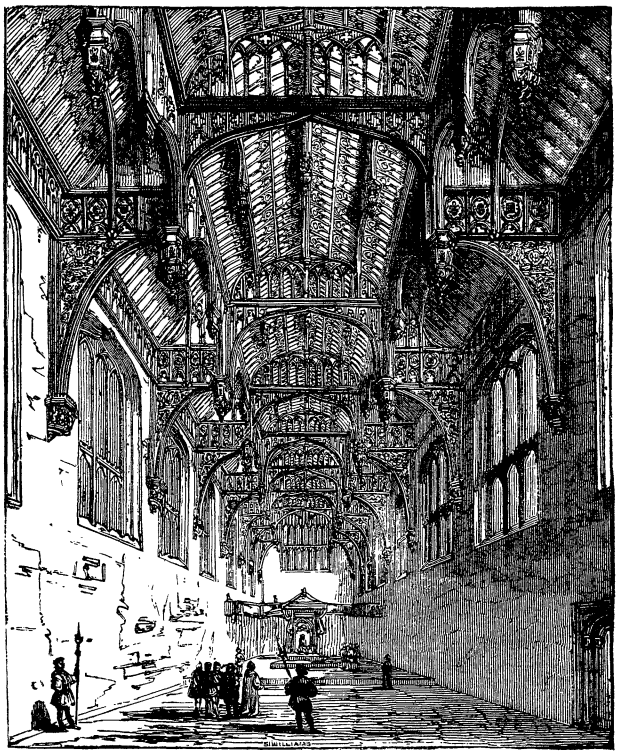
lished his "Book of Sportes" for the use of his subjects, in which he declared these and many other recreations to be lawful on Sunday, and stigmatized the puritanical mode of observing the day as leading to "filthie tippling and drunkennesse."

The time was about nine or ten o'clock in the evening, and towards that hour the guests would be seen coming from their lodgings in various parts of the Palace, or from lodgings outside the gates, along the cloisters, preceded by their attendants bearing torches. They would pass up the large wooden staircase which leads from the cloisters to the Hall, through the doors now closed, but which then opened under the minstrel gallery. Others would arrive under the archway beneath the clock, and go up the stone staircase, the usual entrance now, also leading into the Hall under the minstrel gallery. The King, the Prince, and the ministers and great Lords of State, on the other hand, would approach from the Great Watching Chamber at the upper end of the Hall, which then communicated directly with the galleries and chambers belonging to the State Rooms.

The whole appearance presented by the Hall must have been very imposing. On both sides, the seats for the spectators were arranged, rising doubtless in tiers one above another, and leaving a large space in the middle of the room for the procession of the Goddesses to advance, and ample scope for them to execute their "measures." At the lower, or minstrel gallery end, was reared an elaborate piece of scenery, representing a mountain, rising high into the roof, and concealing the whole of the end wall; at the upper end of the Hall on the left-hand side, on the daïs, was built the "Temple of Peace," with a lofty cupola, and in the interior an altar tended by the Sibylla. Not far from the Temple was the cave of Somnus, "Sleep."

When everything was ready, and all the company as-

sembled, the doors at the top of the Hall would be flung open, and the heralds proclaiming aloud "The King," would sound a loud blast on their trumpets, at which the whole



The Great Hall.

company rising would make obeisance to the King, who entered with a throng of courtiers, and counsellors, and ambassadors. He sat beneath the canopy of state, placed near the beautiful south oriel window.

The spectacle must have been brilliant in the extreme. The beautiful scenery for the masque, the splendid and costly dresses of the crowd of courtiers and ladies, the gorgeous colours and marvellous workmanship of the tapestry hangings, "than which the world can show nothing finer," the rich decorations of the exquisitely moulded windows, filled with lustrous stained glass, and above all the glorious gothic roof, with its maze of delicately carved and softly-tinted beams, spandrels, and corbels, amid the pierced tracery of which flickered hundreds of little lamps, must have combined to produce an effect never experienced in modern times. Milton surely had some such scene in his mind when he wrote the lines :—

> From the archèd roof,
> Pendent by subtle magic many a row
> Of starry lamps and blazing cressets fed
> With naphtha and asphaltus yielded light
> As from a sky.

And when we consider who were present on that night: all the beauty, rank, and state of the Courts of England and Scotland; ambassadors of foreign Powers; statesmen on whom hung the present and future destinies of the British Empire; and beyond all, both the greatest philosopher, Bacon, and the greatest poet, Shakespeare, that the world has ever known—we feel that the interest of the occasion is not undeserving of notice.

And now the masque began :—

First appeared "Night," decked in a black vesture, set over with glittering stars. She rose up by a sort of trap-door arrangement in the middle of the floor from the cellars below, and marched slowly up to the cave, where her son, "Sleep," lay, awakening him in a speech beginning "Awake, dark Sleep," &c. :—

Awake, dark Sleep, rouse thee from out this cave,
Thy mother Night, that bred thee in her womb,
And fed thee first with silence and with ease,
Doth here thy shadowing operations crave;
And therefore wake, my son, awake, and come,
Strike with thy horny wand the spirits of these
That here expect some pleasing novelties, &c.

Her son at once obeyed her summons, and at her request, consented to call forth a Vision to gratify the assembled Court, which he forthwith proceeded to do by an invocation and a waving of his wand, and then retired to slumber again. As soon as he had gone, Iris, the messenger of the Goddesses, appeared on the top of the mountain, clad in a robe striped with all the colours of the rainbow, and descending, advanced to the Temple of Peace. Here she announced to the Sibyl, the priestess thereof, the approach of a "celestial presence of Goddesses," and at the same time gave her a scroll, in which she might read a description of them, and of the symbolical meaning of their several attires.

The Sibyl taking the scroll then read the "prospective" set forth in it, of which we will give two stanzas as a specimen:—

Juno.

First here imperial Juno in her chair,
With sceptre of command for kingdoms large,
Descends all clad in colours of the air,
Crown'd with bright stars, to signify her charge.

Pallas.

Next warlike Pallas, in her helmet dress'd,
With lance of winning, target of defence,
In whom both wit and courage are express'd,
To get with glory, hold with providence.

As soon as the Sibyl had finished reading the description of the Twelve Goddesses, there were seen at the top of the

mountain the three Graces in silver robes, emerging from the rocks and trees, and coming down the winding pathway hand in hand, with stately step, to the sound of a loud march, played by minstrels attired as satyrs, or sylvan gods, and seen half disclosed amid the rocks. Next came the Twelve Goddesses, three and three, in various coloured dresses, which are fully described in Daniel's explanatory introduction to the masque, each followed by a torchbearer dressed in a flowing white robe, studded over with golden stars, their heads bespangled with the same, and carrying long gilded waxen tapers.

Thus in order the whole procession wended its course down the mountain's sinuous pathway, the whole being so arranged as to admit of all the performers being seen on the mountain at once. The first three Goddesses were Juno, Pallas, and Venus, the characters being represented respectively by Lady Suffolk,[1] the Queen, and Lady Rich. The next three were Diana, Vesta, and Proserpine, represented by Lady Hertford, Lady Bedford, and Lady Derby. The next were Macaria, Concordia, and Astræa, by Lady Hatton, Lady Nottingham, and Lady Walsingham. And lastly, Flora, Ceres, and Tethys, by Lady Susan Vere, Lady Dorothy Hastings, and Lady Elizabeth Howard.

The parts of the Graces, Iris, the Sibyl, Night, and Somnus, as they involved speaking and singing, were probably, according to the custom that prevailed in Court masques, entrusted to professional actors, of whom there were plenty in the Palace at this time.

When the Goddesses reached the foot of the mountain, they marched up the centre of the Hall towards the Temple of Peace, while the Graces stood aside on the daïs, and sang a song of three stanzas, the first of which we append, to the

[1] For a sketch of the lives of the performers, see the author's Introduction to the reprint of *The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses.*

concert music which played in the dome of the Temple, out of sight:—

> Desert, Reward, and Gratitude,
> The Graces of Society;
> Do here with hand in hand conclude
> The blessed chain of amity:
> For we deserve, we give, we thank,
> Thanks, Gifts, Deserts, thus join in rank.

In the meanwhile the Goddesses went up one by one, and presented their gifts to the Sibyl, and then turning, came down into the midst of the Hall.

Then, when the Graces had finished their song, they danced their measures, as Daniel says, "with great majesty and art, consisting of divers strains, framed into motions, circular, square, triangular, with other proportions exceeding rare and full of variety," and then pausing, "they cast themselves into a circle." The Graces hereupon sang another song, while the Goddesses prepared "to take out the Lords," which they did as soon as the song was finished, and danced with them those "galliards" and "corantoes," that have been described above.

After this Iris appeared again, and announced to the Sibyl that "these Divine Powers" were about to depart, and then they "fell to a short parting dance, and so retired up the mountain in the same order as they came down."

The above account has been given, with details from two or three sources, that the reader might have a consecutive description of the masque. But the following extract, in continuation of Dudley Carleton's letter, though he omits some particulars, will give as vivid an idea of the entertainment as could be desired:—

"The Hall was much lessened by the works that were in it, so as none could be admitted but men of appearance; the

one end was made into a rock, and in several places the waits placed, in attire like savages. Through the midst from the top came a winding stair of breadth for three to march; and so descended the masquers by three and three; which being all seen on the stairs at once was the best presentation I have at any time seen. Their attire was alike, loose mantles and petticoats, but of different colours; the stuffs embroidered satins and cloth of gold and silver, for which they were beholding to Queen Elizabeth's wardrobe.

"Their heads by their dressing did only distinguish the difference of the Goddesses they did represent. Only Pallas had a trick by herself, for her clothes were not so much below the knee but that we might see a woman had both feet and legs, which I never knew before. She had a pair of buskins set with rich stones, a helmet full of jewels, and her whole attire embossed with jewels of several fashions. Their torchbearers were pages in white satin loose gowns, set with stars of gold; and their torches of white virgin wax gilded. Their demarch was slow and orderly; and first they made their offerings at an altar in a Temple which was built on the left side of the Hall towards the upper end. The songs and speeches that were there used I send you here enclosed. Then after the walking of two rounds fell into their measures, which for variety was nothing inferior, but had not the life, as the former. For the common measures they took out the Earl of Pembroke, the Duke, the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Henry Howard, Southampton, Devonshire, Sidney, Nottingham, Monteagle, Northumberland, Knollys, and Worcester. For galliards and corantoes they went by discretion, and the young Prince was tossed from hand to hand like a tennis-ball. The Lady Bedford and Lady Susan took out the two ambassadors; and they bestirred themselves very lively; especially the Spaniard, for his Spanish galliard showed himself a lusty old reveller. The

Goddesses they danced with did their parts, and the rest were nothing behindhand when it came to their turns, but of all for good grace and good footmanship Pallas bare the bell away.[1] They retired themselves towards midnight in order as they came, and quickly returned unmasked, but in their masquing attire.

"From thence they went with the King and the ambassadors to a banquet provided in the Presence, which was despatched with the accustomed confusion: and so ended that night's sport with the end of our Christmas gambols." From the last few lines we gather that the ladies wore masks. This surviving element of the old masquerade, which can scarcely have added to the effect, was soon afterwards given up. The "accustomed confusion" with which, according to Dudley Carleton, the banquet was despatched, was characteristic of the times. In the same year, on St. John's day, at the masque by Ben Jonson, acted by the Queen and her ladies at Whitehall to celebrate Lady Susan Vere's marriage, the riot at supper was so great that, in the general scramble for food, "down went tables and trestles before one bit was touched." "There was no small loss that night of chains and jewels, and many great ladies were made shorter by their skirts, and were very well served that they could cut no better:" so says a Court chronicler in a newsletter.[2]

To return to the masque. No small stir, as can be imagined, was made by this the first royal dramatic representation ever witnessed in England. Several accounts of it were written; one by a Mr. Philippes purporting to be from Ortelio Renzo to Gio. Ant. Frederico, the Spanish Ambassador, preserved among the State Records, deserves

[1] Bells, instead of cups, used to be given to winners of horse-races; whence the meaning of this phrase: "to be the best."

[2] Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 44.

perhaps to be cited.[1] It is dated January the 31st, 1604, and is as follows :—

" The Court is yet at Hampton Court, where his Majesty,



Entrance to the Buttery under the Pantry and Great Hall.

the Queen, and Prince have continued all these holidays. Now the Prince is gone to Oatlands, and about a fortnight

[1] This letter, with others, is endorsed by Cecil thus : " Letters writen by Mr. Phelippes, and suggested by him to be counterfeited." See *State Papers, James I.*, vol. vi., No. 36.

hence the King and Queen purpose a remove to Whitehall. The holidays were passed over with the accustomed Christmas recreation, as playing, dancing, masking, and the like. Two masques were famous, the one acted by the Queen and eleven honourable ladies the Sunday after Twelfth day. The French ambassador was present at the first and the Spanish solemnly invited came to the second, albeit much against the French his will, who laboured all he could to have crossed him. All the ambassadors were feasted at Court this Christmas, first the Spanish and Savoyer, 2, the French and Florentine, 3, the Polonian and Venetian, and all highly pleased but the French, who is malcontent to see the Spaniard so kindly used, and it is plainly perceived that he and the Florentine, and in some sort the Venetian, labour all they can underhand to divert us from making peace with Spain." On this topic of the ambassadors and their quarrel Dudley Carleton adds in his letter quoted above :—" Since, the Savoyard hath dined privately with the King, and after dinner was brought out into the great chamber to see the Prince dance, and a nimble fellow vault. He then took his leave, but is not yet gone, and some doubt his leave-taking was but cozenage to steal a dinner from the Florentine, who expected to be first entertained. The Spaniard and Florentine have not yet met, for they both stand upon terms ; the one of his greatness, the other upon custom that the first comer should salute the other welcome. The Polack doth this day feast the Spaniard : he hath taken his leave and is presented with jewels and plate to the value of 2,000 crowns. The valuation of the King's presents which he hath made to ambassadors since his coming into England comes to 25,000 crowns."

On the 2nd of February Lord Worcester writes to Lord Shrewsbury : [1]—" Whereas your Lordship saith you were

[1] *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i., p. 317 ; and Lodge, vol. iii., p. 227.

never particularly advertised of the masque, I have been at 6*d.* charge with you to get you the book, which will inform you better than I can, having noted the names of the Ladies applied to each Goddess. . . . This day the King dined with the Florentine ambassador, who taketh now his leave very shortly. He was with the King at the Play at night, and supped with my Lady Rich in her chamber."

The "book" for which Lord Worcester had been at "6*d.* charge" was a surreptitious edition of the masque, published without the author's permission or name, and which seems to have given some offence to Daniel and the Court. It was printed in small quarto with the following title :—

"The True description of a Royal Masque presented at Hampton Court upon Sunday night, being the eighth of January, 1604, and personated by the Queens most excellent majesty, attended by eleven Ladies of Honour. London, Printed by Edward Allde, and are to be sold at the Long Shoppe adjoining unto S. Mildred's Church in the Poultrye, 1604." This was the "unmannerly presumption of an indiscreet printer, who, without warrant, hath divulged the late shew at Court, and the same very disorderly set forth," complained of by Daniel, which obliged him to issue an edition of his own, correcting the errors of the unauthorized copy, and giving elucidations of the more obscure parts. Of this the author's edition in octavo—whose title is "The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses presented in a masque at Hampton Court, the 8 of January, etc. Printed by T. C. for Simon Waterson. 1604"—there are only two copies, one in the Bodleian Library, and one which was sold to Mr. Pickering, in 1866, for nearly £9. Of the surreptitious edition there are three copies in the British Museum, but no other extant. It is in one of these, the copy belonging to the King's Library, that the names of the performers are inserted in a handwriting of the time; and as this hand-

writing bears a close resemblance to Lord Worcester's, it seems highly probable that this is the identical copy which he speaks of in the letter above. This little pamphlet of seven leaves, for which Worcester gave sixpence, would fetch now, it need hardly be said, almost its weight in five pound notes, and many times its weight in gold.

With regard to the literary merit of this masque: although in it Daniel has not attained to the degree of excellence Ben Jonson subsequently reached in these pieces, and although he has not infused into it such exquisite poetry as we find in the "Masque of Queens," the "Masque of Beauty," or the "Masque of Oberon," still we recognize in it an ingenious fancy, and that accuracy of versification and lucidity of expression, which earned for him the name of "the well-languaged Daniel." The coming of Iris, the "many-coloured messenger that ne'er doth disobey the wife of Jupiter," to announce the approach of the goddesses Juno, Ceres, &c., will remind the reader of the masque in the "Tempest," where the same incident occurs.

Enough has now, probably, been given to enable the reader to picture to himself a Court masque in the olden time. Unfortunately, the career of the masque, though brilliant, was short-lived. With the decay of the drama in Charles I.'s reign, masques entirely died out, and were not revived when the taste for the theatre returned with Charles II.

But the suggestion forces itself upon the mind that, in these days of revivals of whatever is beautiful in the past, these exquisite creations of fancy should not be allowed to slumber. Their later development is so peculiarly English, if their origin was not, and they are so superior in structure to the Italian opera, that it ought to be a point of national pride to restore, and still further develop them. Certainly, no play is so adapted for private theatricals as these English

lyrical dramas. Though the number of them preserved in our old literature is few—being at the utmost about thirty or forty—yet among them will be found some to suit every variety of circumstance and taste. In these entertainments, too, all can take part. There are speeches, dialogues, and situations, involving nice discriminations of character, for actors; songs for the musical; and dances, dresses, and show for the rest; and they are always full of a rich store of imagery, and instinct with the spirit of true poetry. The time has gone by when critics, knowing nothing at all about them, sneered at and disparaged them. Isaac D'Israeli, Gifford, and others have placed them before the world in their true light. They have shown that representations, for which Ben Jonson took special pleasure in writing the librettos, and which even Shakespeare did not despise, for which Inigo Jones was proud of designing the scenery, for which even Bacon, Selden, and other great statesmen and lawyers sat on committees of management, and vied with one another in arranging dances, marches, and other details, and even in taking parts, and in which the refined King Charles and his Court took particular delight, were not the mere "bungling shows" they were alleged to be.



CHAPTER III.

THE HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE BETWEEN ANGLICANS AND PURITANS.

The Millenary Petition—A Conference granted by King James between the Church of England and the Puritans—James opens the First Day's Proceedings—Rattle of the Dry Bones of Theology—The Puritan Divines called in on the Second Day—Blatant Intolerance of the Bishop of London—The Authorized Version of the Bible determined on—James's Display of Biblical Learning—Grows impatient of the Arguments of the Puritan Divines—They are insulted and browbeaten—"Away with your Snivelling"—"May you want Linen for your own Breach"—The Episcopalians declare the King to speak by Inspiration of the Holy Spirit—Fulsome Flattery of the Archbishop of Canterbury—The Bishop of London throws himself on his Knees in Adoration—"Such a King never known since the Time of Christ"—Effects of the Conference—Delight of the Royal Pedant—"I have peppered them soundly."

THE gaieties that we have described in our preceding chapter were soon, however, to give way to more serious affairs. The religious question, which in the general excitement of the accession of the new King had fallen somewhat in the background, was now coming forward again for attention and settlement. The Puritans, who, relying on the fact of the King having been educated among Presbyterians, were looking forward to a policy of conciliation on his part, had

framed, in the autumn of 1603, the famous "Millenary Petition"—so called from the number of those whose sentiments it expressed—stating their grievances and craving various reforms. Their demands, however, opened too many debatable points to be granted or refused without much consideration. James, therefore, consented that a conference should take place, in which all the questions at issue should be discussed between the representatives of the two parties—the Bishops and Deans on the part of the Church of England, and several divines deputed to speak the mind of the general Puritan body. The discussion was to take place in the presence of the King, and the 12th of January was appointed by royal proclamation as the date on which it was to open. The day, however, was afterwards deferred till Saturday the 14th; and in the meanwhile, on the evening of Friday the 13th, those who had been ordered to attend waited on the King, who sent for them "into an inner withdrawing chamber, where in a very private manner, and in as few words, but with most gracious countenance," imparted to them why they had been summoned.[1]

Next day was held the first formal meeting of the Conference, in the King's Privy Chamber, one of the large rooms of Henry VIII.'s suite of state apartments on the east side of the Clock Court, which were altered in the reign of George II.

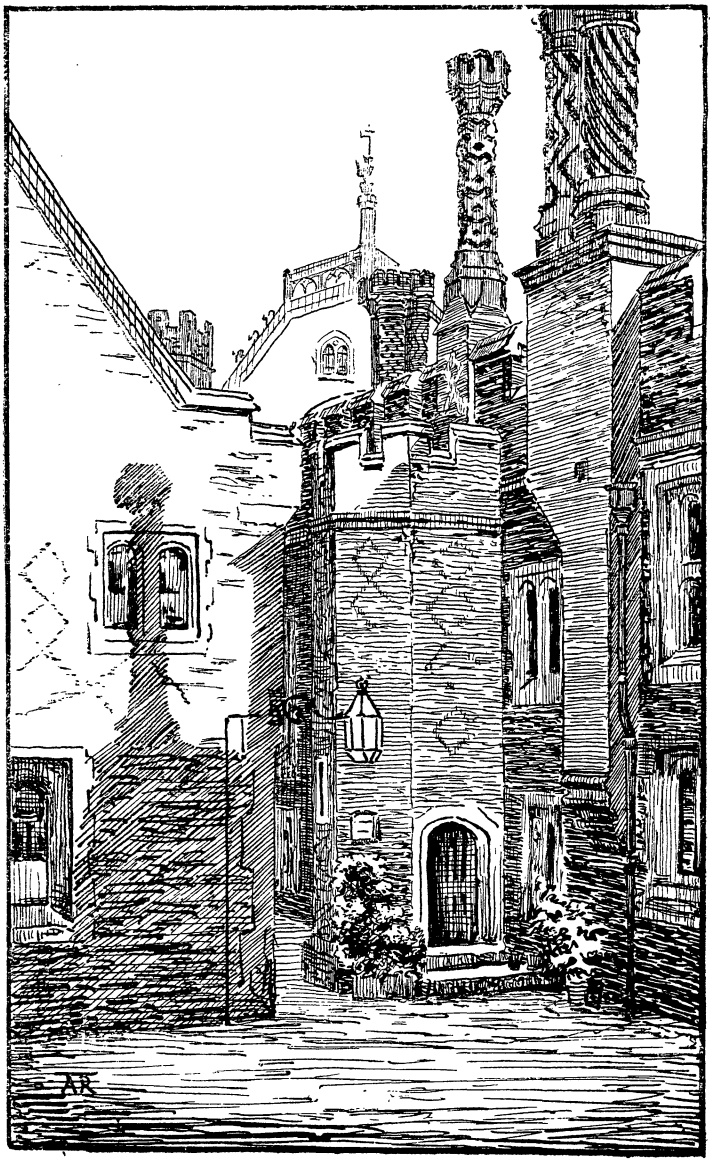
It seems that the Chapel had been first selected as the place of meeting; but this arrangement was afterwards changed—which was fortunate, considering some of the incidents of the subsequent proceedings. On the first day the Puritans were not called in; but the matters to be

[1] Barlow's *Sum and Substance of the Conference*, 1603, reprinted in *The Phœnix*. See also Fuller's *Church History*, book x., p. 267, and letter of Toby Matthew, Bishop of Durham, to Hutton, Archbishop of York, in Strype's *Whitgift, Appendix of Records*, book iv., No. xlv. Dodd's *Church History*, vol. iv., p. 21.

discussed with them were virtually decided on in conference between the King and the Episcopalian party, powerfully represented in the persons of the Lords of the Privy Council, the Bishops and five Deans, "who being called in, the door was close shut by my Lord Chamberlain. After a while his excellent Majesty came in, and having passed a few pleasant gratulations with some of the Lords, he sat down in his chair, removed forward from the cloth of state a pretty distance." His seat was of course at the head of the board. The clergy who sat on his left consisted of Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the following Bishops—Bancroft of London, Matthew of Durham, Bilson of Winchester, Babington of Worcester, Rudd of St. Davids, Watson of Chichester, Robinson of Carlisle, and Dove of Peterborough. There were likewise present the Deans of the Royal Chapel, of Westminster, of St. Paul's, of Chester, and of Salisbury, namely, Montagu, Andrews, Overall, Bridges, and Barlow, whose account of the proceedings is the chief authority relied on for the history of the Conference. Other ecclesiastics, namely, the Deans of Christchurch and of Worcester, Ravis and Eedes, and Drs. Field and King, though summoned by letters, and ready waiting in the Presence Chamber, were not called into the Privy Chamber on the first day. All the Lords of the Privy Council, who sat on the right hand of the King, were present as spectators, "whereas some at times interposed a few words." [1]

The King opened the proceedings by a speech of an hour's duration, in which he began by blessing "God's gracious goodness" ("at which words," says Barlow,[2] "he was observed to put off his hat"), "who hath brought me into the *promised land*, where religion is purely pro-

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, &c., *ubi supra*.
[2] Barlow's *Sum and Substance*, &c., p. 142.



A Corner in the Master Carpenter's Court.

fessed, where I sit amongst grave, learned, and reverend men; not as before, *elsewhere*, a king without state, without honour, without order, where beardless boys would brave us to the face!" He then went on to assure them that he was altogether opposed to any innovation, but that his purpose was, "like a good physician, to examine and try the complaints," and that "if anything should be found meet to be redressed, it might be done without any visible alteration," and for that purpose he had called them together. Entering next into the points which he meant to take his stand upon, he expressed his own views on the principal topics with great emphasis and force. When he had concluded, Archbishop Whitgift made a few remarks, addressing the King on his knees. After that a general discussion followed, lasting three or four hours, "the King alone," says Dean Montagu, who wrote an account of it to his mother a day or two after, "disputing with the Bishops so wisely, wittily and learnedly, with that pretty patience, as I think never man living heard the like." He also took the opportunity of propounding his panacea for England's standing political difficulty—the state of the Emerald Isle. "For Ireland the conclusion was (the King making a most lamentable description of the state thereof) that it should be reduced to civility, planted with schools and ministers, as many as could be gotten."[1]

So ended the first day's conference, from which it was pretty evident that the King and his advisers had resolved to make very few, if any, concessions; and certainly none that would be substantial.

In the meanwhile the representatives of the Puritans—Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Sparks, Mr. Knewstubs, and Mr. Chaderton—remained outside the door, "sitting on a form."

[1] Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. ii., p. 74, and see also Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i., p. 314.

On the following Monday, between eleven and twelve in the morning, the King summoned the four Puritan divines before him into the Privy Chamber, to hear them state their case. The Bishops, except those of London and Winchester, did not attend on this occasion; but the Deans and Doctors were admitted, as well as Patrick Galloway, sometime minister of Perth, who was allowed to be present as a spectator. When they were all assembled the King took his seat as on the day before, "the noble young Prince sitting by, upon a stool," and his Majesty delivered himself of "a short, but a pithy and sweet speech to the same purpose which the first day he made." He ended by saying "he was now ready to hear at large what they could object or say; and so willed them to begin. Whereupon they four kneeling down, Dr. Reynolds the Foreman, after a short preamble gratulatory," proceeded to state four points on which they based their requests.

We need not follow in detail the tedious theological wrangle that ensued—how, when the learned and dignified Puritan was calmly and respectfully, but firmly, propounding his view, the intolerant Bishop of London, burning with all the intensity of religious hate, rudely interrupted him, and told him that they should be thankful to the King, for his great clemency, in permitting them to speak against the liturgy and discipline of the Church, as by law established, and upbraiding them "for appearing before his Majesty in Turkey gowns and not in your scholastic habits, according to the orders of the University;" how the King, for whose especial edification this rancorous outburst of episcopal zeal was designed, felt bound, in his judicial character of Moderator, to reprove the Bishop for his "sudden interruption of Dr. Reynolds, whom you should have suffered to have taken his liberty, for there is no order, nor can there be effectual issue of disputation, if each

party be not suffered, without chopping, to speak at large;" and how, when Dr. Reynolds dealt with other matters of doctrine and worship, which were vital to the Puritan conscience, but which naturally seemed, "both to the King and the Lords very idle and frivolous, occasion was taken in some by-talk to remember a certain description which Mr. Butler of Cambridge made of a Puritan, viz., A Puritan is a Protestant frayed out of his wits." In such a fire of interruption and audibly-whispered sneers had the Puritan divine to lay his case before the Head of the Church of England!

In the discussion that followed a great many topics were touched upon, among them the translation of the Scriptures; and it is interesting to note that it was a suggestion of the spokesman of the Puritan sect which led to the compilation of the famous English authorized version of the Bible. "May your Majesty be pleased," asked Dr. Reynolds, "that the Bible be new translated, such translations as are extant not answering the original?" But here the Bishop of London broke in again: "If every man's humour might be followed there would be no end of translating." Fortunately, however, James's instincts as a scholar made him look on this matter in a more liberal spirit. "I profess," said he, "I could never see a Bible well translated in English; but I think that of all, that of Geneva is the worst. I wish some special pains were taken for a uniform translation; which should be done by the best learned in both universities, then reviewed by the bishops, presented to the Privy Council, lastly ratified by royal authority to be read in the whole church, and no other." "But it is fit that no marginal notes should be added thereto," interjected the irrepressible Bishop of London; on which his Majesty observed, "That caveat is well put in, for in the Geneva translation some notes are partial, untrue,

seditious, and savouring of traitorous conceits; as when from Exodus i. 19 disobedience to kings is allowed in a marginal note."

Shortly afterwards "the King arose from his chair, and withdrew himself into his inner chamber a little space. In the meantime a great questioning was among the Lords about that place of Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 10, with which, as if it had been rest and upshot, they began afresh, at his Majesty's return; who, seeing them so to urge it, and stand upon it, calling for a Bible, first shewed the author of that book who he was; then the cause why he wrote it; next analysed the chapter itself, shewing the precedents and consequents thereof; lastly, so exactly and divine-like unfolded the sum of that place, arguing and demonstrating so that the *susurrus* at the first mention, was not so great as the astonishment was now at the King's sudden and sound and indeed so admirable interpretation." Another point discussed was the objection against interrogatories in baptism; which, being a profound point, was put upon Mr. Knewstubs to pursue, "who in a long perplexed speech," according to the episcopalian Barlow, "said something out of Austin!" But by this time the King's humour for listening to Puritan arguments was getting exhausted, and he declared he did not understand what Knewstubs was driving at, and asked the Lords and Deans if they could either, who of course deferentially declared that they were even more puzzled than his Majesty. And when the divine proceeded to take exception to the cross in baptism, on the ground that "the *weak* brethren were offended at it," James could stand it no longer, and asked him sharply: "How long will such brethren remain weak? Are not forty-five years sufficient for them to grow strong in? and who are they that pretend this *weakness?* We require not subscriptions of *laics and idiots*, but of preachers and ministers, who are not

still, I trow, to be *fed with milk,* being enabled to feed others. Some of them are *strong* enough, if not *head-strong.* And howsoever they in this case pretend *weakness,* yet some, in whose behalf you now speak, think themselves able to teach me, and all the bishops of the land!" No wonder when the modest Puritan divine found his temperately preferred arguments met with royal browbeating of this sort, that he became confused and abashed; a demeanour which was at once complacently taken by the King, and flatteringly declared by his courtiers, to be conclusive evidence how acute and overwhelming was his Majesty's reasoning, and how impotent were the wretched precisian's arguments, when opposed to the theology of the British Solomon!

A similar reception was accorded to Mr. Knewstubs' elaborate argument on the power of the Church to add the use of the cross in baptism,[1] with regard to which he said "the greatest scruple is, how far the ordinance of the Church bindeth, without impeaching Christian liberty"—on which James burst out, "I will not argue that point with you, but answer therein, as Kings are wont to speak in Parliament, *Le Roy s'avisera;*" adding, "It smelleth very rankly of Anabaptism, and is like the usage of a beardless boy (one Mr. John Black), who, the last conference I had with the ministers of Scotland, told me, 'That he would hold conformity with me for matters of doctrine; but for matters of ceremony, they were to be left in Christian liberty to every man, as he received more and more light from the illumination of God's spirit—even till they go mad with their own light. But I will none of that; I will have one doctrine, and one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony; and there I charge you never to speak more to that point (how far you are bound to obey) when the Church hath ordained it. Have you anything else to say?'"

[1] Barlow's *Sum and Substance,* &c., p. 166.

In spite of this rather discouraging style of discussion, Dr. Reynolds, after objecting to the use of the surplice, took exception to the words in the marriage service, "With my body I thee worship." To this, however, James answered that it was a usual English term, as "a gentleman of worship," &c., and the sense agreeable to the Scriptures—"Giving honour to the wife." Then turning to the doctor, who happened to be an unmarried man, he laughed and jeered at him, saying, "Many a man speaks of Robin Hood, who never shot in his bow. If *you* had a good wife yourself, you would think all the honour and *worship* you could give her were well bestowed!"

So far James had listened with some show of tolerance; but when the Puritan divine had the audacity to proceed to express a desire that the clergy should have meetings every three weeks for prophecyings, "His Majesty was much stirred, yet, which is admirable in him, without passion or shew thereof, exclaimed, 'If you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the Devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasures censure me and my Council and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up, and say, "It must be thus." Then Dick shall reply, and say, "Nay, marry, but we will have it thus." And, therefore, here I must once more reiterate my former speech, *Le Roy s'avisera.* Stay, I pray you, for one seven years, before you demand that of me; and if you find me *pursy and fat*, and my windpipes stuffed, I will, perhaps, hearken to you. For let that government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath; then shall we all of us have work enough—both our hands full. But, Dr. Reynolds, till you find that I grow lazy, let that alone. No Bishop, no King!" And then, for it was already night, asking Reynolds abruptly if he had any more to object, and the doctor wisely saying,

"No," he appointed the following Wednesday for both parties to meet him. Then, "rising from his chair, as he was going to his inner chamber, 'If this be all,' quoth he, 'they have to say, I will make them conform themselves, or I will harry[1] them out of this land, or else do worse.'"

Such is the toned-down official account by Dr. Barlow, who was present reporting, of the second day's proceedings, "which," he adds, "raised such an admiration in the Lords, in respect of the King's singular readiness and exact knowledge, that one of them said he was fully persuaded his Majesty spake by the instinct of the spirit of God. My Lord Cecil acknowledged that 'very much we are bound to God, who had given us a King of an understanding heart.' My Lord Chancellor, passing out of the Privy Chamber, said unto the Dean of Chester, standing by the door, 'I have often heard and read that *Rex est mixta persona cum sacerdote;* but I never saw the truth thereof till this day.' Surely," adds Barlow, on his own account, "whoever heard his Majesty might justly think that title did more perfectly fit him, which Eunapius gave to that famous rhetorician in saying that he was 'a living library and a walking study.'"

A rather different version, however, of what passed is given by another eye-witness, Sir John Harrington, in a letter to his wife, written in the evening of the day on which these proceedings had taken place:[2]—"The King talked much Latin, and disputed with Dr. Reynolds; but he rather used upbraidings than arguments; and told them they wanted to strip Christ again, and bid them *away with their snivelling*. Moreover he wished those who would take away the surplice, *might want linen for their own breech!* The Bishops seemed much pleased, and said his Majesty

[1] To *harry* is to chase with harriers.
[2] Harrington's *Breefe Notes* in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i., p. 181.

spoke by the power of inspiration. I wist not what they mean; but the spirit was rather foul-mouthed."

On Wednesday, January 18th, the third sitting of the Conference was held, and was attended by all the Privy Councillors and all the Bishops and Deans. The principal matter of debate on this occasion was the Court of High Commission and the oath *ex officio*, on which account the Knights and Doctors of the Arches—Sir Daniel Dunne, Sir Thomas Crumpton, Sir Richard Swale, Sir John Bennett, and Dr. Drury—were also summoned; but the Puritans, the other party to the suit as it were, who were the most interested in the matters debated, were not admitted until the close of the sitting. After the King had propounded these matters for discussion in a brief speech, one of the Lords, with seeming audacity, ventured to characterize the proceedings of that court as "like unto the Spanish Inquisition, and that by the oath *ex officio* they were forced to accuse themselves." This remark was probably made by arrangement, in order to give King James an opportunity of defending both institutions, which he did in an elaborate and carefully prepared impromptu speech, "so soundly and in such compendious but absolute order," according to the official report, "that all the Lords and the rest of the present auditors stood amazed at it."

The Archbishop of Canterbury did not hesitate to declare that "undoubtedly his Majesty spake by the special assistance of God's spirit;" while the Bishop of London, not to be outdone by any fellow ecclesiastic in fulsome flattery, threw himself upon his knees, protesting before the whole company that "his heart melted within him (as so, he doubted not, did the hearts of the whole company) with joy, and made haste to acknowledge unto Almighty God the singular mercy we have received at his hands, in giving us such a king, as since Christ's time the like had not been!"

"Whereunto," continues the report, "the Lords, with one voice, did yield a very affectionate acclamation;" and the Doctors of the Civil Law "confessed that they could not, in many hours' warning, have so judicially, plainly, and accurately, and in such a brief, described it."

All this, of course, gratified the royal pedant immensely; and he then proceeded to commit "some weighty matters for them to be consulted of," the last of which was "for the sending and appointing of preachers into Ireland, 'whereof,' saith his Majesty, 'I am but half a king, being lord over their bodies; but their souls seduced by Popery!'"

At this stage, when everything had been practically concluded and decided on, Dr. Reynolds and his fellow-Nonconformist divines were called in, and told what had been determined on; and, after some desultory consultation, "his Majesty made a gracious conclusion, which was so piercing," says Barlow, "that it fetched tears from some on both sides. My Lord of London ended all, in the name of the whole company, with a thanksgiving unto God for his Majesty, and a prayer for the health and prosperity of his Highness, our gracious Queen, the young Prince, and all the Royal issue. His Majesty then rose, and retired to the Inner Chamber; and all the Lords then went to the Council Chamber, to appoint Commissioners for the several matters before referred."

Thus ended the famous Hampton Court Conference, so momentous in its results, which convinced the Puritans that they had nothing to hope for from King James, and which showed him that they were not to be won over by minor concessions in matters of detail. Henceforth the two parties stood out opposite each other in an attitude of uncompromising hostility, which was to develop later on into the death-struggle of the Great Rebellion. Had James been more anxious to conciliate the Dissenters than to display his

own learning, mutual concessions might have been arrived at, which would have doubled the power of the Church of England, fixed his throne on an unshakable basis, and saved his son's head.

Fortunately, perhaps, for the cause of civil and religious liberty, no such strengthening of the forces of absolutism and ecclesiasticism resulted from the Conference, and the Puritans were left free and unfettered to work out, in their own rough and somewhat uncouth way, the political and religious emancipation of England. The direct effects of the Conference were, in fact, but trivial and insignificant, and have been summed up in the pithy sentence, "that the King went above himself; that the Bishop of London appeared even with himself; and that Dr. Reynolds fell beneath himself."

The Puritans, as is usual with discomfited disputants,[1] blamed their representatives, who, they declared, were not of their nomination or choosing, which was probably true enough; and, besides, complained, with more justice, that the points in controversy, instead of being discussed, had been privately determined on between the King and the Bishops, and then nakedly propounded for acceptance, so that the Puritans had only been brought forward to be made a spectacle to their enemies, to be browbeaten and threatened, and borne down by dictates of royal authority. Indeed, we cannot but wonder at the hardihood of the four dissenting divines, in accepting so unequal a contest, with the King as moderator, who was himself the most bitter and violent partisan of all. Needless to say that they equally objected to the garbled account of the proceedings, which was put forth by the Court party, and which—partial as it proves the conduct of the royal moderator to have been, and insulting and humiliating as it shows his treatment of the Puritans

[1] Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii., p. 19.

to have been—yet throws a careful veil over the less creditable incidents and the grosser expressions of the King.

The whole conference was probably determined on by James with no other object than of gratifying his pedantic vanity, and exhibiting himself in the character of a learned and subtle disputant. Of his own estimate of his achievements at Hampton Court we get a glimpse from a letter he wrote, a day or two after its close, to a friend of his in Scotland.[1] "We have kept," says he, "such a revel with the Puritans here this two days, as was never heard the like: quhaire *I have peppered thaime as soundlie* as yee have done the Papists thaire. It were no reason, that those that will refuse an airy sign of the cross after baptism should have their purses stuffed with any more solid and substantial crosses. They fled me so from argument to argument, without ever answering me directly, *ut est eorum moris*, as I was forced at last to say unto thaime, that if any of thaime had been in a college disputing with thair scholars, if any of their disciples had answered thaime in that sort, they would have fetched him up in place of a reply; and so should *the rod have plyed upon the poor boyes buttocks!* I have such a book of thaires as may well convert infidels, but it shall never convert me, except by turning me more earnestly against thayme."

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, Appendix iv., No. xlvi.

CHAPTER IV.

JAMES I.'S VISITORS—PRESBYTERIANS PREACHED AT.

The Court go to London—Henry, Prince of Wales, comes to reside at the Palace—His Fondness for Athletic Exercises—Curious Picture of him out Stag-hunting—Fond of Tennis—Return of James and his Queen—Lady Arabella Stuart—Proposed matrimonial Alliances for her—"The Fair Maid of Bristol"—Visit of Christian IV. of Denmark—"The King keeps Wassail"—The Ladies become intoxicated—Plays acted before the Royal Dane—Another Rattle of the Dry Bones of Theology—The Scotch Presbyterian Ministers summoned to a Conference and preached and prated at—Passive Obedience the First Duty—Visit of the Prince Vaudemont.

EARLY in February, 1604, the Court left Hampton Court for Royston, whence it shortly after moved to Whitehall, and thence to the Tower, preparatory to the triumphal passage of the King and Queen through the City of London, which took place with much pageantry and festivity. After this, Henry, Prince of Wales, came down to reside at Hampton Court with some of his household and attendants; and here, for the following eight or nine months he devoted himself to his studies and artistic pursuits, and to the athletic exercises in which he so much delighted and excelled. Of horses and all belonging to them he was particularly fond, and though preferring hunting for the pleasure he took in



HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES, AND THE EARL OF ESSEX.
From the picture at Hampton Court.

galloping rather than for the sport, he often went out stag-hunting in the parks, and was an unerring shot with the bow. Of this taste there is an interesting reminiscence in a curious old picture at Hampton Court, painted about this time, when the young Prince was eleven years old, representing him as just drawing out his sword from the scabbard to cut the throat of a stag after hunting.[1] Opposite to him is his friend and companion, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, kneeling on one knee, and holding the stag by the antlers. They are both dressed in green hunting suits, and behind the Prince are his horse and groom and a dog. He also spent much of his time in tossing the pike, leaping, shooting at the butts, throwing the bar, vaulting and playing at bowls and tennis, for all which sports there was every convenience and facility at Hampton Court. Of his skill at tennis there is frequent mention,[2] and a curious print exists of his playing at that game in the tennis court of one of the royal palaces, which may perhaps represent that at Hampton Court. It may have been here also that his companion Essex, one day when they were playing at tennis together, threatened to strike him across the head with his racket for calling him "the son of a traitor."[3]

The Prince remained at this Palace throughout the summer, and was still here when the King and Queen came back in the autumn, the period of the year at which, from this time forth, the King was accustomed to come and reside here. So uniform, in fact, was he in his movements, as well as in his diet, that Weldon remarks that "the best observing courtier of our time was wont to say, were he asleep seven years, and then awakened, he would tell where the

[1] In the Queen's Audience Chamber. See the author's *Historical Catalogue*, No. 400.

[2] Birch's *Memoirs of Prince Henry*, p. 75.

[3] *Secret History of James I.*, vol. i., p. 266.

King every day had been, and every dish he had at his table."[1]

With the Court came the Lady Arabella Stuart, who spent her time, according to a letter of William Fowler to her uncle the Earl of Shrewsbury, "in lecture, reading, hearing of service, preaching, and visiting all the Princesses.[2] She will not hear of marriage," adds he, although Count Maurice was aspiring to her hand. Curiously enough, on the very same day her uncle heard from another source, the Earl of Pembroke, who was also at Hampton Court, of another matrimonial alliance in prospect for his niece. "A great embassy," wrote he, "is coming from the King of Poland, whose chief errand is to demand the Lady Arabella in marriage for his master. So may your Princess of the Blood grow a great Queen, and then we shall be safe from the danger of mis-superscribing our letters."[3]

But, as D'Israeli observes, "To the Lady Arabella crowns and husbands were like a fairy banquet seen at moonlight, opening on her sight, impassable and vanishing at the moment of approach." For the King and Queen in no way favoured her marriage with anyone, and so violently opposed each suggested match that she at last was united clandestinely to Seymour, son of the Earl of Hertford, with what sad and fatal results will be well remembered.

The Court must have been again at Hampton Court at the beginning of 1605; for, on the 8th of February of that year, there was registered by Thomas Pavyer at Stationers' Hall, a copy of "A Commedy called The Fayre Mayd of Bristoe [*i.e.* Bristol] played at Hampton Court by his Majesties

[1] Anthony Weldon's *Character of King James.* See *Secret History of James I.*, vol. ii., p. 5.

[2] October 3rd. Lodge's *Illustrations of English History*, vol. iii., p. 236, and also *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i., p. 457.

[3] D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature.*

players,"[1]—an entry which seems to refer to a recent acting of the piece, though it may well be the case that it had been presented the previous year, during the grand Christmas festivities of 1603-4, and that its publication was deferred. The play, of which there was formerly a copy in the Roxburghe Library,[2] and of which there is now one in the Dyce Library in the South Kensington Museum, is printed in black letter with the following title:—"The Faire Maide of Bristow; as it was plaide at Hampton, before the King and Queenes most excellent Majesties. Printed at London for Thomas Pavyer, and are to be solde, at his shop at the entrance into the Exchange. 1605."

The King was again at the Palace at the end of September, 1605, when, on Michaelmas Day, Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, was sworn a Privy Councillor;[3] and he remained here, through October, till just before the meeting of Parliament and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot; returning again in December, during the trial of the conspirators.[4] He was often at this Palace, also, in the February following for a few days in the middle of the week, probably to have some sport in the parks.[5]

In the summer of 1606, Hampton Court was honoured by a visit from the Queen's brother, King Christian IV. of Denmark, who was over in England spending a short time with his relations. He was accompanied by a bodyguard of a hundred men dressed in blue velvet and silver, with twelve trumpeters and twelve pages. He and his suite left Greenwich on August 6th, accompanied by his sister and brother-in-law, to inspect their Majesties' palaces in the neighbourhood of London and to hunt in the parks. Having gone first

[1] Arber's *Transcripts of the Stationers' Registers*, vol. iii., p. 283.
[2] *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i., p. 495, and vol. iii., p. 1065.
[3] Howe's *Chronicle;* and *Progresses*, &c., vol. i., p. 577.
[4] *State Papers, Domestic, James I.*, vol. xv., No. 65.
[5] Nichols' *Progresses*, vol. iii., p. 1069.

to Richmond, where they hunted and slept the night, they came over the next day and "dyned at Hampton Court, and there hunted and killed deare, with great pleasures; and surely the King of Denmark was very much delighted with the gallantnesse of these Royall Pallaces of his Majestie, as did appeare by his earnest noting of them, and often recounting of their pastimes and pleasures."[1]

Of King Christian's personal appearance we may judge from his portrait by Vansomer, in the King's Second Presence Chamber at Hampton Court, which was painted about this time, and which shows him to have been a tall, fine-looking man.[2] With it may be compared the description of him, given by an eye-witness, who tells us that he was "of goodly person, of stature in no extremes; in face so like his sister that he who hath seen the one may paint in his fancy the other."

He resembled his sister also in his love of pleasure and gay entertainments, and was, indeed, a thoroughly jolly, good fellow, boisterous and good-tempered, and delighted at having a real rollicking time while over in England with his sister and brother-in-law, who, on their part, made his visit an excuse for a regular "fling," with tilting matches, running at the ring, tennis, hunting, shooting, sports, masques, banquets, and carousals of all kinds. "We had women and wine too," writes Sir John Harrington from Court, "of such plenty, as would have astonished each beholder. Our feasts were magnificent, and the two royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at the table. I think the Dane hath strangely wrought on our good English nobles; for those whom I could never get to taste good

[1] *England's Farewell to the King of Denmark;* Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. ii., p. 81; Von Raumer's *History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. ii., p. 215.

[2] No. 98 of the author's *Historical Catalogue.*

English liquor, now follow the fashion and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication. I have passed much time," continues he, "in seeing the royal sports of hunting and hawking, where the manners were such as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not man in quest of exercise and food."[1]

At Hampton Court, however, King Christian did not make a prolonged stay, apparently remaining only one night to witness the performance of a play, doubtless in the Great Hall of the Palace, presented by the King's company of actors. Shakespeare, as we have seen, was at this time a prominent member of the company; and it is highly probable that he was present (if not indeed himself on the boards) when his fellow-actors were performing, perhaps, one of his own plays before the Royal Dane.

It may have been some knowledge of the King's convivial habits that suggested the lines in "Hamlet":—

> The King doth wake to-night, and takes his rouse,
> Keeps wassail, and the swaggering up-spring reels;
> And, as he drains his draughts of Rhenish down,
> The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out
> The triumph of his pledge.

But of the play acted at Hampton Court on this occasion we know nothing, whether as to its title or author. We have only the bare fact, evidenced by the entry in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber to James I.:[2]—

To John Hemynges one of his Ma^ts players upon Warrant dated 18 *October* 1606 *for three plays before his Ma^tie and the King of Denmarke, twoe of them at Greenwich, and one at Hampton Court* £*xxx.*

[1] *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i., p. 348.

[2] Cunningham's *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court*, p. xxxviii.

After the King of Denmark's departure from England, about a week subsequent to his visit to this Palace, King James came down here for a short stay, during which he knighted Sir Thomas Glover, Ambassador to Turkey,[1] and on his return again in September, Sir William Oglander of the Isle of Wight, and Sir George Philpot of Hampshire.

This was about the time that James, ever occupied with religious subjects, and delighting in "the rattle of the dry bones of theology," was desirous of discussing some arrangement to be made with the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. To this end he had sent for several representative Presbyterian ministers from beyond the Tweed, to come and confer with him at Hampton Court, doubtless anticipating with complacency a repetition of the theological wrangles in which he had engaged with the Puritans, and looking forward with delight to another opportunity of displaying his learning to a crowd of ecclesiastical sycophants. The Presbyterians were accordingly summoned to attend at Hampton Court on September 20th; and four eminent English divines were selected to preach in turn before his Majesty "for the reduction of the two Melvilles and other Presbyterian Scots to a right understanding of the Church of England."[2]

We can imagine the disgust and vexation of the Scotch "meenisterrs" at having to listen in silence, with patience, and without protest, to the lengthy, tedious, argumentative discourses of the Court preachers, in favour of episcopacy, on the duty of passive obedience, and the divine origin of arbitrary power;[3] while the pedantic King James sat narrowly eyeing them, and noting the effect on them of each text and each argument propounded.

Dr. Barlow, whom we have spoken of as reporting the

[1] On August 17th. *Progresses of James I.*, vol. ii., p. 95.
[2] Wood's *Athenæ* (ed. by Bliss), vol. ii., col. 507.
[3] Spotswood's *History of the Church of Scotland.*

proceedings of the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, and who was now Bishop of Lincoln, led off on the 21st of September with a sermon on "the antiquity and superiority of Bishops." The next day the King gave the Scotch ministers a private audience, when he enforced Barlow's sermon with arguments from his own theological armoury, and submitted several questions to them bearing on the topic—for instance, as to its being within the King's exclusive province to convoke and prorogue ecclesiastical assemblies. In reply Mr. James Melville, on behalf of his associates, said that the questions were weighty, and craved time to deliberate together, that they might all give one direct answer. This desire was granted, and "they were commanded to advise and meet together that night, and be ready to answer the next day." The King, however, did not succeed, even by the most persistent and rigorous cross-examination, in extracting any but very indirect and evasive replies from the cautious and canny Scots. "I see," he said at last, "that you are all set for maintaining that base conventicle of Aberdeen. . . . But you will not, I trust, call my authority in question, and subject the determination of the same to your assemblies?" This, they said, was far from their thoughts; but if his Majesty should be pleased to set down in writing what he required, they should labour to give him satisfaction.[1]

On the 23rd, Dr. Buckeridge followed with a sermon on the words of the text, "Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake" (Rom. xiii. 5);[2] "in canvassing whereof," says Archdeacon Spotswood, who was present, "he fell upon the point of the King's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, which he handled both

[1] Spotswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 498.

[2] "Imprinted at London, by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie, 1606." A few copies are extant, one of which is in the author's Hampton Court Museum.

soundly and learnedly to the satisfaction[1] of all the hearers; only it grieved the Scotch ministers to hear the Pope and Presbytery so often equalled in their opposition to sovereign princes."[2]

With great wealth of illustration, and a vast amplitude of quotations of texts, citations, and authorities, the erudite and courtly divine clearly established, for the gratification of his pedantic royal master and the edification of the Scotch presbyters, that "kings and emperors, as they have their calling from God, so they admit no superior on earth but God, to whom only they must make account."[3] He warned his hearers, also, that God is more quick to revenge the wrongs and treasons committed against his Lieutenants and Viceroys, than the greatest sins against himself, and impressed upon them that the supreme duty of all subjects was to render passive obedience to royal authority. "If he be a good prince, *causa est*, He is the cause of thy good, temporal and eternal; if an evil Prince, *occasio est*, He is an occasion of thy eternal good, by thy temporal evil. *Si bonus, nutritor est tuus; si malus tentator tuus est*," and so on through an interminable mass of quotations, until the sermon is almost as much in Latin as in English.

"If he be a good king he is thy nurse; receive thy nourishment with obedience; if he be an evil prince he is thy tempter, receive thy trial with patience; so there's no resistance; either thou must obey good princes willingly, or endure evill tyrants patiently." It must have been indeed a trial to listen with patience to such intolerable rubbish! But the learned theologian went on: "The process of this conscience is by way of syllogism; the proposition is framed by the synderesis of the soule," and so on.

[1] Spotswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 496.

[2] Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. ii.

[3] See also a letter of Rowland Whyte to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

This was the sort of thing in which the King delighted, and we are not surprised to find that it was shortly after published by Royal command, with copious marginal notes, references, and elucidations.

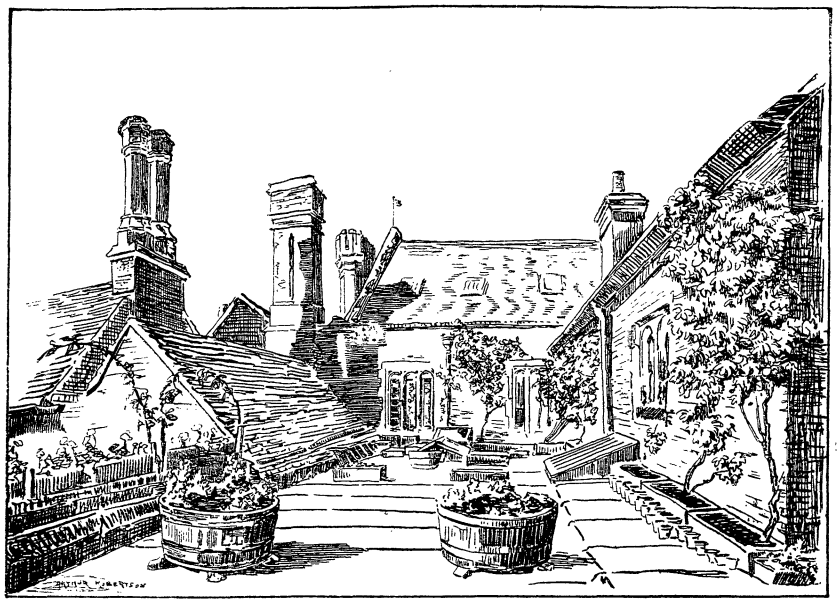
Dr. King, "the King of Preachers" as he was called, followed a day or two after, with a sermon on "Canticles viii. 11, and thereupon discussing of the office of presbyters did prove lay elders to have no place or office in the Church." And lastly, Launcelot Andrews, Bishop of Chichester, held forth on Sunday the 28th of September, "concerning the right and power of calling assemblies," taking his text from Numbers x. 1, 2: "Then God spake unto Moses: Make thee two trumpets of silver; of one piece shalt thou make them, for they shall be for thee to assemble (or call together) the congregation, and to remove the camp."

This course (that of sending for the Presbyterian ministers to be preached and prated at) "the King took," observes Spotswood, "as conceiving that some of the ministers should be moved by power of reason to quit their opinions and give place to the truth; but," as he justly adds, "that seldom happeneth when the mind is prepossessed with prejudice either against person or matter. And in effect they returned to Scotland of the same opinion still, no good end having been served by their visit."

During the time that the Presbyterian ministers were being catechised by the King and preached at by the Bishops, there arrived at the Palace, on a visit to the Court of England, Francis, Prince of Vaudemont, third son of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, who came with a great retinue of "seven Earles, tenne Barons, fortie gentlemen of quallitie, and six score common persons. All the Lords and gentlemen," remarks the chronicler, "were very brave and cumlie in their apparel, and as civil in their behaviour."[1] They came by

[1] Howe's *Chronicle* in his continuation of *Stow*, p. 887.

coach from London, and on the day of their arrival, the 24th of September, Rowland Whyte wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury from Hampton Court, "The lost stag was found, and bravely killed, and his head brought in great pomp to the Privy Chamber, which hath made an end of all displeasure



A Garden on the Top of the Palace.

with hounds and huntsmen. . . . This night the Earl of Vawdemont will be here, with his crew, *plus clinquant que le soleil.*"[1]

When his coming to England was originally made known, there was some consultation as to whether the King should defray the expenses of his entertainment; and it was in the

[1] *Progresses of James I.*, vol. ii., p. 96.

first instance decided that he should not. This determination, however, was departed from, and it was resolved that he should be received with the most sumptuous hospitality, "a diet of two hundred dishes being appointed to be served all the while he abides here." His stay at Hampton Court lasted a whole fortnight, during which time "they were all very royally entertained and feasted, and rode a hawking and hunting with the King to divers places, and then returned."[1] Of one of the balls given in his honour at Hampton Court Palace, Rowland Whyte, in a letter dated the 4th of October, gives this report:—"At Hampton Court, in the Queen's Presence Chamber, there was dancing: the King, Queen, Prince, and Vawdemont were by. My Lady Pembroke was taken out by a French Cavagliero to dance a carrante: her Ladyship took out our noble Prince. At last it came to a galliard: the Prince took out my Lady Pembroke, and she the Earl of Perth: no lady there did dance near so well as she did that day; so she carried away the glory, and it was given her by the King, Queen, and others. Vawdemont danced; the Queen danced; Lady Essex, Lady Knollys, Lady Levingston, the maids."

From the same letter-writer we hear in the following year of a visit the Queen paid to the Palace after the death of her infant daughter Mary, when she completely secluded herself from all state ceremonial, so that, as Whyte wrote to Lord Shrewsbury, "The Court officers had leave to play, and are gone every one to his own house, only Lord Salisbury went to Hampton Court to comfort the Queen."[2]

[1] Howe's *Chronicle*, p. 887.
[2] Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. iii., p. 324.

CHAPTER V.

JAMES I.'S STAG-HUNTING IN THE PARKS.

King James's Keenness for Stag-hunting—Will not forego his Pleasure for Business—His Unpopularity—Threat to poison his Hounds—His Savageness against Poachers—Issues a lecturing Proclamation on the Subject—Commends the conduct of "the Better Sort"—Condemns "the Corrupt Natures and Insolent Dispositions of the Common People"—His violent Rage against Spectators of his Sport—Issues a Proclamation against them—"The bold and barbarous Insolency of Multitudes of Vulgar People"—Severe Punishment threatened against them—Dissatisfaction at his Selfishness—He takes Pot-shots at Tame Deer in the Park—The Duke of Saxe-Weimar entertained with a grand Hunting Party—Description of the Sport—James' Hunting Costume.

AMONG the ideas concerning the functions of the kingly office with which James I. was strongly imbued, was the one that it was essential to his royal dignity to maintain the noble sport of stag-hunting; and even to revive something of the stringency of the earlier game laws, which made indulgence in any field sports the exclusive prerogative of the crown and the aristocracy. That James was really a genuine sportsman, or that he was adapted in physical constitution to the endurance of the dangers or the fatigues of the chase, we need not at all suppose. Still, he was sufficiently keen to be "earnest, without any intermission or respect of

weather, be it hot or cold, dry or moist, to go to hunting or hawking." [1] And to this sport he thought everything should give way. Once, when Lord Salisbury came to him, and, in the name of his Council, implored his Majesty on his knees to postpone a hunting party for a few days, until some important matters of business were disposed of, he fell into a great passion, crying out: "You will be the death of me, you had better send me back again to Scotland." [2] Conduct of this sort did not add to his personal popularity, nor to that of his royal sports, and the writer of an anonymous letter threatened him that unless he thought more of the good government of his people instead of "for ever running after wild animals," his hounds would all be poisoned. But he paid no heed whatever to any remonstrances. On the contrary, he showed excessive annoyance, and frequently expressed great anger and vexation at the slight regard his subjects often seemed to him to have for his sylvan pleasures, and their want of due consideration for his exclusive privileges in game.

His feelings at last found vent in a "Proclamation against Hunters, Stealers and Killers of Deare, within any of the King's Majesties Forests, Chases or Parks," which was "Given at our Honour of Hampton Court, the 9th day of September Añno. Dm̄i. 1609." [3] Its quaint phraseology is curiously illustrative of the familiar and conversational style in which State documents of those times were often worded. "We had hoped," begins his Majesty in a highly offended and reproachful tone, "seeing it is notorious to all our subjects how greatly we delight in the exercise of Hunting, as well for our Recreation, as for the necessary preservation of our health, that no

[1] Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. ii., p. 160.

[2] Van Raumer's *History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ii., p. 199.

[3] *State Papers, James I.*, vol. xlviii., No. 23.

man, in whom was either reverence to our person, or fear of our Lawes, would have offered us offence in these our sports; considering especially," continues the royal pedant, who evidently drafted the document himself, in his lecturing way, "that the nature of all people is not onely in things of this qualitie, but in matters of greater moment so far to conform themselves to the affection and disposition of their Sovereign, as to affect that which they know to be liking to them and to respect it, and to avoyd the contrary: and we must acknowledge that we have found *the gentlemen and persons of the better sort* (who know best what becometh their duetie) have restrained their owne humors, and formed themselves therein to give us contentment: yet falleth it out, notwithstanding, that neither the example of them, nor respect of the Lawes, nor duety to us, hath had power to reforme *the corrupt natures and insolent dispositions of some of the baser sort*, and some other of a disordered life."

The scolding, domineering tone of this proclamation—so different from that in which Queen Elizabeth would have spoken, in similar circumstances—shows how little King James understood the English character; while the touch of contempt for the poorer classes betrayed in the contrast drawn between the conduct of "gentlemen and persons of the better sort," and that of "the baser sort," is an instance of a want of sympathy with the mass of the people which goes far to account for his unpopularity.

After commenting further on, for some paragraphs, with mingled sorrowful reproach and indignant rebuke on such "trespassing against reason," "insolent humour," and "barbarous uncivil disposition," he proceeds to threaten that unless there is some amendment in his subjects' conduct, he will have to put into force the ancient forest laws in all their pristine stringency.[1]

[1] Shirley's *Deer Parks*, p. 46.

Another great cause of annoyance to King James in regard to his hunting, was the great number of people, who not only flocked to the Royal meets to see the fun and stare at his Majesty, but who sometimes even ventured, without special permission, to join the sport and follow the hounds. This the King thought most highly reprehensible on the part of populace; and once, at the beginning of his reign, when his loyal subjects crowded from all sides to catch a sight of their new sovereign, he fell into so violent a passion that he cursed every one he met, and swore that if they would not let him follow the chase at his pleasure he would leave England.[1] He subsequently issued another proclamation in special reprobation of this practice:—

"Forasmuch as we have often, since our first coming into England, expressed our high displeasure and offence *at the bold and barbarous insolency of multitudes of vulgar people*, who, pressing upon us in our sports as we are hunting, do ride over our dogs, brake their backs, spoil our game, run over and destroy the corn, and not without great annoyance and sometimes peril both of our own person and to our dearest son the prince, by their heedless riding and galoping" "our will and pleasure is" that they should be presently apprehended and conveyed to the nearest gaol there to remain during the royal pleasure.[2]

We cannot wonder after all this that James's selfish sporting proclivities should have given rise to much discontent. Osborne complains that "one man might with more safety have killed another, than a rascal-dear; but if a stag had been known to have miscarried, and the authour fled, a proclamation, with a description of the party, had been presently penned by the Attorney-General, and the penalty of his

[1] Raumer, vol. ii., p. 202; also Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i., p. 497.

[2] *Verney Papers* (Camden Society), p. 117.

Majesty's high displeasure (by which was understood the Star Chamber) threatened against all that did abet, comfort or relieve him—so tragical was this sylvan prince against dear-killers and indulgent to man-slayers."[1]

Weldon, also, another satirist of James and his Court, declared "that the King loved beasts better than men, and took more delight in them, and was more tender over the life of a stag than of a man."[2]

In spite, however, of his keenness for hunting, there was was not much of the true sportsman about him, for he would perpetrate acts so unsportsmanlike, according to our modern notions, as to go into his park and take pot-shots from behind a tree at the tame deer as they browsed in the shade;[3] while his most desperate runs were usually confined within the fences of enclosed parks or woods.

"The hunt," says the author of the Travels of John Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who came to England in 1613, and who was entertained by the King[4] with a great hunt, and whose visit to Hampton Court we will notice a little further on, "generally comes off in this way: the huntsmen remain on the spot where the game is to be found, with twenty or thirty hounds; if the King fancies any in particular among the herd, he causes his pleasure to be signified to the huntsmen, who forthwith proceed to mark the place where the animal stood; they then lead the hounds thither, which are taught to follow this one animal only, and accordingly away they run straight upon his track; and even should there be forty or fifty deer together, they do nothing to them, but chase only the one, and never give up till they have overtaken and brought it

[1] *Traditional Memoirs.* See *Secret History of James I.*, vol. i., p. 195.

[2] *Court and Character of James I., Secret History*, &c., vol. i., p. 364.

[3] Shirley's *Deer and Deer Parks*, p. 44.

[4] Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 154.



James I. taking the Assay.

down. Meanwhile the King hurries incessantly after the hounds until they have caught the game. There is therefore," adds the foreigner, "no particular enjoyment in this sport. Two animals only were caught on this occasion : one was presented by the King to his Highness, which was eaten at his lodging. His Majesty now and then uses long-bows and arrows; and when he is disposed he shoots a deer."

On such occasions he went to the meet of the hounds dressed in a suit "green as the grass he trod on, with a feather in his cap, and a horne instead of a sword by his side : how suitable to his age, calling, or person," remarks one of his censors, "I leave to others to judge from his pictures."[1] This we are enabled to do from the accompanying print of his Majesty receiving from the huntsman the knife with which he is to "make the assay," that is, the first cut on the stag's breast, to discover how fat he is. This print is a facsimile of a woodcut in Turberville's "Noble Art of Venerie," published in 1611.

For tame sport of this sort it was, of course, very necessary that the park fences should be kept in good repair, so that the game should not stray from the enclosures. We accordingly find a great number of warrants, directed to various officials, relating to such matters in the parks at Hampton Court, and ordering a new lodge to be erected in the park there.[2] Orders are likewise extant prohibiting the keeper of Bushey Park from hunting deer there without the King's warrant; and it seems to have been at this time that the custom, which still survives, was first established, of sending game to various cities, towns, and officials.

[1] Osborne's *Traditional Memoirs. Secret History of James I.*, vol. i., p. 195.
[2] July 24th, 1611.

CHAPTER VI.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PALACE DURING JAMES I.'S REIGN—A FORCED MARRIAGE.

Prince Otto of Hesse—His curious Account of Hampton Court—The King's Hatred of War—"Peace with Honour"—The Palace described—The Eighty Royal Chambers—The Golden Tapestries—The Pictures—Portraits of Our Lord—Of the Cathay Savages—Of Alexander the Great—Curiosities—Henry VIII.'s Dining Table and Camp Bed—Queen Elizabeth's Musical Instrument of Glass—The Queen's Private Chapel—The Duke of Saxe-Weimar's Narrative—The Queen's Sporting Proclivities—She shoots the King's Favourite Hound—Her Portrait at Hampton Court as "the Huntress Queen"—Rise of the Duke of Buckingham—He is made Keeper of the Honour of Hampton Court—Dismissal of Lord Chief Justice Coke—Proposed marriage of Buckingham's Brother to his Daughter—Her Mother intervenes and carries her off—Coke in Pursuit—He captures his Daughter—Her Wedding in the Chapel at Hampton Court—Uproarious Proceedings on the Marriage Night.

SO amply did the King stock the parks at Hampton Court with game, and so renowned did the place consequently become, that to have a day's hunting here was considered by all travellers visiting the Palace to be "*the* thing to do," and foreigners of distinction, especially, liked to be able to boast that they had witnessed "le sport Anglais" in King James's famous preserves at Hampton Court. One

of these travellers was the son of the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse, Prince Otto, of whose visit to England in the year 1611, when he was aged only seventeen, there is in the library of Cassel, a curious manuscript narrative which contains a valuable description of the Palace.[1] After telling us that his visit to Hampton Court took place on the 26th of July, when he rode over here with Prince Henry from Richmond Palace, and hunted in the Park, he notes:—"Hampton Court was built by Cardinal Wolsey, who said and wrote 'Ego et Rex meus.' Within, in the entrance, on the right, on a partition of boards is—

Ut pix admotam subito rapit undique flammam
Six præceps fertur fervidus in choleram.

And on the left—

Ignis edax superat nullo moderamine pressus
Mœnia, six tumidus si sinis hostis erit.

"The King lies on a sack full of straw (query, a straw mattrass): we saw the place. Queen Elizabeth's motto: '*Dominus mihi adjutor.*'[2]

"In the King's porch on a tablet is the inscription:—

Nihil pace commodius et sanctius.
Tamen cum bella vitare non possumus, interdum suscipienda: sed pax servanda semper.

This Latin stanza in commendation of peace is very characteristic of King James, who, as the French Ambassador observed, "hated war from habit, principle and disposition, and would (to use his own words) avoid it like his own damnation. For he was born and bred up with a base and weak

[1] See *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 144, by Mr. W. B. Rye, who has kindly communicated to me a transcript of the part of the narrative that concerns Hampton Court. See also Nichols' *Progresses*, vol. ii., p. 424.

[2] A mistake. It is Wolsey's motto. See vol. i., p. 51.

heart, and imagines (after the manner of princes who devote themselves to religion, the sciences, and sloth) that he can never be forced into a war against his will, by duty or conscience, or forcible and legitimate reasons."[1]

This reluctance to engage in any warlike enterprises, and especially his backwardness in intervening on behalf of the struggling Protestants on the Continent, increased his unpopularity with the people, who could not but despise a king with no other foreign policy than the negative one of non-intervention. His satirist, Weldon, also severely blames him for preferring diplomatic to military methods, and declares that James would rather "spend £100,000 on embassies to keep or procure Peace with Dishonour, than £10,000 on an army that would have forced *Peace with Honour;*"[2]—a sentence, by the way, which shows that a famous modern phrase had been coined several centuries earlier than is generally supposed.

To continue Prince Otto's narrative:—

"This Palace of Hampton Court has 700 rooms, as the Vice-Chamberlain, who led us round, informed us, among which are 80 splendid royal chambers, all decorated with beautiful gold tapestries, the like of which we have not seen, which tapestry was hung up in honour of his Highness the Landgrave Otto, besides other tapestry being underneath. The golden tapestry, which hangs in the Queen's and other apartments, and which Henry VIII. bought, is said to have cost £50 a yard, and to have been offered to many other potentates first, . . . so Hampton Court now possesses them. The Palace has seven courts and two fine gardens, and fine parks."

This manuscript account of Hampton Court also contains

[1] Von Raumer's *History of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. ii., p. 208.

[2] *Character of King James*, by Sir Anthony Weldon.

an ample enumeration of all the remarkable tapestries, pictures, and curiosities to be seen in the Palace at the time of Prince Otto's visit, thus affording us a good idea of the furniture of the apartments in James I.'s reign. We accordingly append his list, supplementing it by further details from Justus Zinzerling's "Description of England," written in the same year, and Peter Eisenberg's "Notes on England," of about the same date.[1]

Tapestries.

Splendid tapestries in gold and silver of the History of St. Paul.

The History of Tobit in beautiful tapestry.

(One piece of this set is now in the "Horn Room" at Hampton Court.)

In the Queen's apartments—

The History of Pompey in tapestry.

The History of Abraham in splendid tapestry.

(This is now in the Great Hall. See the account of it in vol. i., p. 240.)

Pictures.

"In the Queen's bedchamber is a picture of Venus as a lovely young lady, above which is written '*Imago Amoris*' (the Image of Love), on the forehead, '*Procul et Prope*' (Far and Near), on the crown, '*Mors et Vita*' (Death and Life), at the feet '*Hyems et Æstas*' (Winter and Summer), and beneath all—

[1] See Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners*, pp. 134, 173.

"'In hac poesi figurantur proprietates Amoris' (In this verse is figured the properties of Love)."

"Many beautiful pictures in the galleries, one of our Saviour, with an inscription testifying that the Sultan [Bajazet] had sent this to the Pope [Innocent VIII.] to liberate his brother from captivity."

On the subject of this picture Mr. Richard Garnett of the British Museum writes:[1]—

> You will remember, in one of the German travellers' descriptions of Hampton Court, mention of a supposed portrait of our Saviour, sent according to tradition by one of the Sultans to the Pope, to obtain the release of his brother. You said that the picture had disappeared from the Palace without leaving any trace. We then referred to Burcardus's account of Bajazet II.'s embassy to Pope Innocent VIII. in 1492, to obtain, however, the safe custody, not the liberation, of his brother Zim. On this occasion he sent the Pope what was represented to be the head of the lance by which Christ's side was pierced, but Burcardus does not mention any other relic. Now, going over Warwick Castle this morning [June 15, 1863], I observed with much surprise a small portrait, painted in the Byzantine manner on a gold ground, and superscribed in capitals: "This present figure is the similitude of our Lord I H S, our Saviour, imprinted in an emerald by the predecessor of the great Turke, and sent to Pope Innocent VIII. for a token to redeem his brother that was taken prisoner." This shows that the inscription must have been written in the time of Sultan Selim 1512-20. I can have little doubt this is the picture referred to by the German: the wonder is, how it could have got from Hampton Court to Warwick."

Mr. Rye adds, "This portrait of the Saviour would, however, appear to be one of many pretended '*true* portraits.' Old copies are alluded to in the 'Antiquarian Repertory,' iii. (where one is badly engraved); also in 'Notes and Queries' for 1864. Photographs of 'the only true likeness

[1] See Rye's *England*, p. 273.

of our Saviour'—a very beautiful head, certainly—have lately been exhibited in the shops of London."

"Portrait of Edward VI., when young."

"Picture of Savages of Cathay, carrying their children on their backs, in a field."

This is evidently the same picture as is referred to by the Duke of Wirtemberg in his account of his visit to Hampton Court in 1592, which is quoted in vol. i., p. 329, of this work. It was a picture, or pictures, of the wild man and woman whom Sir Martin Frobisher found in his second voyage to the North-West in 1577, and brought over to England. There is a document still extant containing notes of the payments made to the painter, Ketel; for instance—"*Paid Cornelius Kettell, payntar Ducheman, for making a great picture of the whole bodye of the strange man in his garments, £5; and the Joyner for a frame and case for it, which was given the Queen's Majesty, 13s. 4d.*

In the inventory of Charles's effects sold after his death,[1] a picture of "A Cataia, or Island Man," with a "Cataia Woman," at Hampton Court, was sold for £6. They afterwards appear in the catalogue of James II.'s pictures, and were again at Hampton Court.[2] Whether they still exist, and, if so, where they now are, is unknown.

"Picture of Alexander the Great, sitting on a throne, and keeping an attentive ear to an accused man."

"The portrait, when unmarried, of Margaret, grandmother of James I., and mother of Mary."

"Lucretia portrayed, over which is set:—

Amissa pudicitia superstes esse nequeo.
(I am unwilling to survive the loss of my honour.)

Curiosities.

"Map of the World, woven in cloth most cunningly, and dedicated to Edward VI."

[1] *Harl. MSS.* 4898. See *post.* [2] *Harl. MSS.* 1890, fol. 79.

"Henry VIII.'s dining-table."

"French Bible, printed on vellum at Antwerp in the year 1548." (It was printed by Jean Loe.)

"The whole Passion very finely cut in mother-o'-pearl."

"The common bedstead which Henry VIII. had with him when he laid siege to Boulogne in France."

"A very fine instrument of glass, upon which were these verses:—

> Cantabis, moneo, quisquis cantare rogaris
> Vivat in æthernos Elisabetha dies.

and also:—

> Phœbeades et modulos cum tractat pollice Princeps,
> Fac resonet placidum tinnula corda melos.

This instrument was presented to the Princess Elizabeth by an English *melord*."

The writer is probably mistaken in saying that this instrument was given to Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I.; it had doubtless belonged to Queen Elizabeth, and would seem to be the same musical instrument, all of glass, except the strings, mentioned by Hentzner, as belonging to Queen Elizabeth, and being at Hampton Court in 1598. (See vol. i., p. 335.)

"A Cabinet, in the centre of which are these words in French: 'Si tu as maistre, serves le bien, di bien de luy, gardes le sien, quoy qu'il façe, soys humble devant sa façe.'"

The narrative of Prince Otto's visit also makes mention of "The Queen's Private Chapel" in her Gallery; of another apartment in the same suite in which was hung the tapestry of "The History of Pompey;" of "The Queen's Presence, or Privy Chamber," in which was hung "The History of Abraham;" of "The Paradise Room, within which almost all the tapestry is stitched with pearls and

mixed with precious stones;"[1] and "the Room in which Edward VI. was born;" while Justus Zinzerling likewise notices "The Chapel and Hall, the vaulted roof of Irish wood, which will bear nothing poisonous, consequently not even spiders"—a legend by no means borne out by present facts.[2]

Another visitor to Hampton Court Palace about this time, of whose impressions a record still exists, was Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who, as we have mentioned above, travelled in England in the year 1613. A transcript of this portion of his diary has been kindly transmitted to the author by Mr. Rye.

"Hampton Court is also a royal pleasure house, and lies a short English mile from the little town just mentioned [Kingston]; it is built with wonderfully great magnificence, in a plain near the Thames, of bricks, with many towers round it. It has two courts [meaning two *main* courts]. The inner one [the then Fountain and present Clock Court] is laid out with square flag-stones. In the middle stands a fountain, with beautiful large marble pillars. On this is also a pillar work of marble, with many fine gilded figures, and the royal arms, on which are borne a lion and dragon.[3] Over the gate, on the inside, stands, on a tower, a fine large clock, on which may be seen in what *gradus* the sun and other heavenly bodies are making their course, as well as the waxing and waning of the moon.[4]

"The apartments are, for the most part, hung with

[1] See *ante*, vol. i., pp. 328, 335.

[2] The King was at Hampton Court a good deal in the autumn of 1611, and on the 2nd of October of that year, he gave an audience there to Sir Robert Sherley, who was employed by the Shah of Persia as Ambassador to King James. Nichols' *Progresses*, vol. ii., p. 430.

[3] Compare Hentzner's account of this court and the fountain in it, cited in vol. i., p. 334, and the Duke of Wirtemberg's description of them in ditto, p. 326.

[4] See the account of the clock in vol. i., p. 217.

golden and silken tapestries, and, indeed, more magnificent than at any other royal residence. Among others there are, hanging in one apartment, several pieces containing the stories of Hagar's delivery, how Abraham is about to offer up his son Isaac, how Isaac courted, &c.[1] The dress, landscapes, buildings, and the like are in gold, silver, and variegated silks, so artistically worked as though they had been carefully painted with colours. In the same way the story of Tobit hung in another chamber. Further, in another room, the History of the Creation of the World in several pieces ; these were old, but also of silk and gold. The Deity was represented as three old persons in episcopal robes, with crowns on their heads, and sceptres in their hands. In all the state chambers stood a royal throne, a seat, and a canopy above, either of golden work or satin. In the rooms stood large beds, nine feet long and as many wide, adorned in the most costly fashion. In one room, which is called the 'Paradise Room,'[2] is to be seen a great treasure of gold tapestry and royal robes, and a beautiful large unicorn's horn ; all the apartments and galleries were laid with rush matting. The pleasure gardens, also, are very beautiful here as everywhere, and laid out in the best manner."

The Duke of Saxe-Weimar's account of his hunting experiences with James I. we have already noticed. This, however, recalls the fact that the Queen, who occasionally shared the King's sports and shot deer like him, mistook her mark one day at Theobalds, just before Saxe-Weimar's visit, and, instead of the stag, killed Jewel, "the King's most principal and special hound, at which he stormed exceedingly awhile ; but after he knew who did it, he was soon pacified, and with much kindness wished her not to be troubled with it, for he should love her never the worse, and the next day

[1] See *ante*, vol. i., pp. 239, 240.

[2] See *ante*, vol. i., p. 335.

he sent her a *diamond* worth £2,000 as a legacy from his dead dog."[1]

An interesting reminiscence of her sporting tastes still exists at Hampton Court in Vansomer's curious picture of her Majesty as the "Huntress Queen," as Ben Jonson flatteringly calls her. She is standing by the side of a fat sorrel steed, with a cream-coloured mane, behind which is a negro groom in red holding the bridle. In a leash she holds two small greyhounds, while another is jumping up to her; they wear little ornamental collars embroidered in gold, with the Queen's initials, A.R. In the background is seen the Palace of Oatlands. Her hunting costume is somewhat fantastic, consisting of a dark green velvet skirt of cut velvet, with a bodice of the same material, very tight at the wrist and very low cut; the whole trimmed with lace and red ribbons. On her head she wears a conical hat of grey felt with a red plume. Above is a scroll inscribed :—

LA MIA GRANDEZZA DAL ECCELSO,

and in the left-hand corner Vansomer has imitated a slip of paper stuck on with two red wafers or wax, with the words :—

Anna D. G. Magnæ Britanniæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regina. Ætatis suæ 43. Anno Dñi. 1617.[2]

The whole composition recalls the lines of Dryden :—

The graceful goddess was arrayed in green,
About her feet were little beagles seen,
Who watched with upward eyes the movements of their queen.[3]

The print here inserted is taken from this portrait.

The King and Queen were both at Hampton Court again

[1] *Life and Times of James I.*, vol. i., p. 260.
[2] See No. 346 of the author's *Historical Catalogue.*
[3] Miss Strickland's *Life of Anne of Denmark.*



Anne of Denmark

at the end of September, 1613,[1] when the news came out that Sir Thomas Overbury had been found dead in the Tower of London, murdered, as it was afterwards proved, by the Countess of Somerset and her husband;[2] and they were again here in the month of December of the following year, and at the beginning of the month of April, 1615—the King having removed from London, "not finding the air or business of that town to agree with his constitution."[3]

It was about this period that George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, was rising into prominence as the new favourite of the King; and we find the annals of this Palace testifying to his advancement in the fact that he was appointed on the 14th of June, 1616, to the office of "Keeper of the Honour of Hampton Court for life"[4]—a post always held by some person of distinction. Another emphatic demonstration of his increasing influence and importance in the State was afforded by an event that took place in the Palace on Michaelmas Day of the following year. This was the marriage of his elder brother, Sir John Villiers, afterwards Viscount Purbeck, to Frances, daughter of Lord Chief Justice Coke, by his second wife, Lady Hatton, and heiress presumptive to all her mother's vast estates. It appears that this marriage had been in negotiation at the end of the year 1616,[5] both just before, and immediately after, Coke's dismissal from the Chief Justiceship, his deprivation of his seat in the Council, and his disgrace at Court, for his manly and determined stand against

[1] It was from this palace that on the 20th of September he wrote the order to the Dean of Peterborough for the removal of the remains of Mary Queen of Scots to Westminster.—Appendix to Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*.

[2] *State Papers, Domestic, James I.*, vol. lxxvi., No. 60, Sept. 28th, 1613.

[3] *State Papers, Domestic, James I.*, vol. lxxviii., No. 79, Dec. 22nd, and vol. lxxx., No. 74, April 7th.

[4] *State Papers, Domestic, James I.*, vol. lxxxvii., Grant Book, p. 187.

[5] Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii., p. 225.

the encroachments of the royal prerogative, and for frustrating the grasping cupidity of Buckingham, who had sought to have a flagrant job perpetrated in his own favour.[1] At first the ex-Chief Justice could not bring himself to consent to the match, though the prospect was held out to him that by means thereof he might regain the royal favour. "If he had had the grace," writes the ever-sagacious Mr. Chamberlain to his correspondent, Sir Dudley Carleton, on the 15th of March, 1617, "to have taken hold of the match offered by Sir John Villiers, it is assuredly thought that before this day he had been Lord Chancellor. But standing upon terms to give but 10,000 marks with his daughter, when £10,000 were demanded, and sticking at £1,000 a year during his life, together with some idle words that he would not buy the King's favour too dear, being so uncertain and variable, he hath let slip the occasion."[2] Eventually, however, he was led to forego all his scruples and objections, perceiving that by this alliance only could he ever hope to ingratiate himself with Buckingham, and thus regain the goodwill of the Court.

Accordingly in the summer of 1617 he went to Sir John Villiers, and offered to hand over his daughter to him, agreeing to do so on terms even still more onerous than those originally demanded of him, namely, "£20,000 ready portion, 2,000 marks yearly maintenance during his life, and £2,000 land after his decease."[3]

But in the meanwhile old Coke was reckoning without his host. For when his wife, Lady Coke, who detested her elderly and crabbed husband with all her heart, and loved to thwart him on every opportunity, heard of his having arranged this match without so much as informing her, and without

[1] Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*, vol. i., p. 286, &c.
[2] Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii., p. 255.
[3] Do., p. 371.

considering, in the slightest, the inclinations of her daughter, who was already attached to Sir Robert Howard, she burst into high resentment. She declared she never would be induced to consent to the marriage; and on the evening of the very day on which she heard of it, secretly carried off her daughter from her father's house, and hid her in a house, tenanted by a cousin of hers, near Oatlands, and not far from Hampton Court, where they lay concealed for some days.[1]

"Meanwhile Sir Edward Coke, having ascertained the retreat of the fugitives, applied to the Privy Council for a warrant to search for his daughter; and, as there was some difficulty in obtaining it, he resolved to take the law into his own hands. Accordingly the ex-Chief Justice of England mustered a band of armed men, consisting of his sons, his dependants, and his servants; and, himself putting on a breastplate, with a sword by his side, and pistols at his saddle-bow, he marched at their head upon Oatlands. When they arrived there they found the gate leading to the house bolted and barricaded. This they forced open without difficulty; but the outer door of the house was so secured as long to defy all their efforts to gain admission. The ex-Chief Justice repeatedly demanded his child in the King's name, and laid down for law that 'if death should ensue, it would be justifiable homicide in him, but murder in those who opposed him.' One of the party gaining entrance by a window, let in all the rest; but still there were several other doors to be broken open. At last Sir Edward found the objects of his pursuit secreted in a small closet, and without stopping to parley, lest there should be a

[1] Chamberlain in his letter to Carleton says, "The daughter was first carried to Lady Withipole's, from thence privily to a house of the Lord of Argyle's at Hampton Court." Coke himself, however, speaks of it as "a house near Oatland, which Sir Thomas Withipole had taken for the summer of my lord Argyle."—Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*, vol. i., p. 298.

rescue, he seized his daughter, tore her from her mother, and placing her behind her brother, rode off with her to his house at Stoke Pogis in Buckinghamshire. There he secured her in an upper chamber, of which he himself kept the key."[1]

We need not follow out the details of what afterwards occurred; how proceedings were commenced against Coke in the Star Chamber for riots at Oatlands; how Lady Coke also was prosecuted for her part in the affair, and kept in strict confinement; how Bacon, who had at first, from jealousy of Coke, opposed the match, at a later stage, fearing the King's and Buckingham's displeasure, warmly took it up; and how the young lady was placed first with Lady Compton, Sir John Villiers's mother, then in the custody of the Clerk of Council, next sequestered to Mr. Attorney, and lastly sent to Hatton House, "with order that the Lady Compton and her son should have access to win and wear her.[2]

"Worn down" at last, indeed, by the imperious importunity of her father and the influence of the Court, the poor girl was at length induced to protest that "she liked Sir John Villiers better than anyone else in the world," and to sign a paper declaring that "being a mere child, and not understanding the world nor what is good for myself," she was ready to marry him.[3] In these circumstances, by means of judiciously exercised royal pressure, her mother's acquiescence was also obtained; and so the marriage was solemnized, as we have said, on Michaelmas Day, in the Royal Chapel at Hampton Court, by the Bishop of Winchester, in the presence of the King and Queen and all the royal family and the whole Court. Coke brought his daughter and

[1] Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*, vol. i., p. 298.
[2] *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii., p. 372.
[3] Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*, vol. i., p. 302.

his relations over from his son's house at Kingston town's end in eight or nine coaches, but Lady Coke was not present. The King himself gave the bride away, after she had been three times solemnly asked whether she assented to the match.[1]

When the ceremony was concluded there was a splendid banquet, and in the evening a masque; after which, according to the curious custom of the age on the occasion of weddings, the King and his courtiers indulged in a regular uproarious night's amusements, wandering about the Palace in their night attire, playing the usual pranks of storming bedrooms, "sewing up sheets," "casting off the bride's left stocking, with many other petty sorceries," as an old writer calls them; and then going in the early hours of the following morning to visit the bride and bridegroom in their bedroom, when the King in his shirt and nightgown gave the bridal pair a "reveille matin," as it was called, before they were up, jumping and rolling on the bed![2]

The marriage, however, did not turn out a happy one, for not long afterwards the poor woman, who had been so shamelessly bought and sold, left her husband, and united herself to the man of her affections, Sir Robert Howard.

[1] Nichols' *Progresses*, vol. iii., p. 440.

[2] Campbell's *Lives*, vol. i., p. 303; and see *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i., p. 471.

CHAPTER VII.

DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK.

Anxiety about the Queen's Health—She suffers from Gout, Dropsy, and Phthisis—Nearly choked in her Sleep—Raleigh's Cordial—She lingers for two Months—The Archbishop and Bishops come to her Bedside—Prince Charles is brought into her Room—She will not believe she is dying—She is urged to make her Will—The Prince receives her blessing—Her Last Hours—Five or six little Groans—She dies—Ominous stopping of the Palace Clock—Burial in Westminster Abbey—Her Will—Her Wishes disregarded by James—He bears her Death with "Exemplary Fortitude"—Goes to Newmarket Races three Weeks after her Death—Writes an Epitaph on the Queen—Wears Mourning for a Month only—His Portrait by Vansomer—His Dress and Appearance—Inigo Jones at Hampton Court—Count Gondomar applies for Apartments in the Palace—Censure on Dr. Whiting—Rupture with Spain—Death of James I.

SOON after the events narrated in our preceding chapter, the King left Hampton Court on a short progress in the eastern counties; while the Queen, whose state of health was beginning to give rise to a good deal of anxiety at Court, remained behind, moving a few days after to her favourite residence of Oatlands, in the air of which place she seems to have thought she might recover. Her expectations, however, were disappointed. "The Queen," writes Mr. Chamberlain on October 25th, "continues still indisposed;

and though she would fain lay all her infirmities on the gout, yet most of her physicians fear a further inconvenience of an ill habit or disposition through her whole body."[1] She was suffering, in fact, from a complication apparently of gout, dropsy, and phthisis, and continued to grow worse during her residence in London all through the winter. In the following autumn her health still declining, she removed, after a short stay at Oatlands, to the Palace of Hampton Court,[2] where she was seized one night with such a bad attack of spitting of blood that she was nearly choked in her sleep, and her physicians had to be sent for in great haste. Ill as she was, however, she did not neglect her old *protégé* Sir Walter Raleigh,[3] who was now under sentence of death, and about to perish on the scaffold, and who in his extremity addressed the following appeal to her in verse :—

> Then unto whom shall I unfold my wrong,
> Cast down my tears, or hold up folded hands ?
> To her to whom remorse does not belong ;
> To her who is the first, and may alone
> Be justly termed the *Empress of Briton !*
> Who should have mercy, if a Queen has none ?

She was probably not unmindful of the fact that in one of her former illnesses Raleigh had cured her with a medicine of his own preparation, called " Raleigh's cordial," when her own physicians were at their wit's end to know what to do.

Accordingly she wrote a supplicatory letter to Buckingham asking him to prevail on the King to pardon him. But her intervention on his behalf was of no avail, and on the

[1] *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii., p. 441.
[2] Camden's *Annals.*
[3] Sir Anthony Weldon's *Court and Character of James I.; Secret History of James I.*, vol. i., p. 349.

29th of October, 1618, "the gallantest worthie that England ever bred," was beheaded on Tower Hill.

"The Empress of Briton," as Raleigh styles her, or "the Empress of the North," as she is entitled in an old print, seems at first to have derived some good from the air of Hampton Court, for a few days before this we read that "the Queen began to recover;[1] and her advisers were urgent that she should remain at this Palace, as it seemed to suit her so well."[2] On Christmas Day she was able to hear a sermon from the Bishop of London,[3] "in the chamber next Paradise;" and a few days after she received a visit from Buckingham and Prince Charles, while the King came to see her twice a week.[4] The rally, however, was but of short duration. On January the 2nd Chamberlain writes to Carleton:[5]—"We begin now to apprehend the Queen's danger, when the physicians themselves begin to speak doubtfully; but I cannot think the case desperate as long as she was able to attend a whole sermon on Christmas Day, preached by the Bishop of London in her inner chamber. Yet I hear the courtiers lay about them already and plot for leases of her lands, for the keeping of Somerset House, and the rest for implement and movables, as they were to divide the spoil; but I hope they may come as short as they that made an account of the bear's skin: yet we cannot be out of fear till we see her past the top of May Hill."

Still she lingered on for exactly two months after this; and it was not till the 22nd of February that she began to grow rapidly worse, and the symptoms showed that her dissolution was now near at hand. One of her attendants

[1] Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii.,p. 493, Oct. 24th.

[2] *State Papers, James I.*, vol. civ., No. 5, Dec. 3rd, 1618.

[3] Dr. John King.

[4] Camden's *Annals*, and Nichols' *Progresses*, &c., vol. iii., pp. 494, 495, 497, and *State Papers, James I.*, vol. cv., No. 1, Jan. 1st, 1619.

[5] *State Papers, James I.*, vol. cv., No. 2. Printed in the *Progresses*, vol. iii., p. 498.

writing to some lady abroad after her Majesty's death, gives an ample and detailed account of her last illness,[1] which we think it best to give in its original quaintness, unparaphrased.

"Whereas your Ladyship desires to be satisfied of the form of her Majesty's death it was thus. She was reasonably well recovered to the eyes of all that saw her, and came to her drawing-chamber and to her gallery every day almost; yet still so weak of her legs, that she could not stand upon them, neither had she any stomach for her meat, the space of six weeks before she died. But this was known to none but your countryman Pira (Pierrot, her Danish personal attendant), and the Dutch woman (her Danish lady's maid Anna) that serves in her chamber. They kept all close from the physicians, and everybody else; none did see her eat but they two." Her physicians were Dr. Atkins, Dr. Turner, and the famous Sir Theodore Mayerne, who had attended Prince Henry in his last illness, and of whom there is a portrait at Hampton Court.[2] "In this meanwhile," continues the lady's narrative, "she was making preparation for the King of Denmark at her house at Oatlands this summer, and on the 22nd of February she took a flux (cough) vehemently, which she has had all this winter, which is now seen to be the cough of the lungs by a consumption. She took her bed, and caused set up the bed she loved best."

On Monday the 1st of March, it was evident to those about her that her end was near at hand; and the news being

[1] Printed in the Miscellany of the *Abbotsford Club*, vol. i., pp. 81-84. It has been thought best to modernize the broad Scotch spelling of the original.

[2] See No. 711 of the author's *Historical Catalogue*. In a letter dated Oct. 31st, 1617, it is said, "Sir Theodore Mayerne is generally unfortunate with his patients." He was of the Dr. Sangrado school, and very fond of frequent blood-letting. His manuscript note-books are in the British Museum (See *Calendars of State Papers*, and Ellis's *Letters*).

quickly known "all the Lords and Ladies almost about this town (London) went to Hampton Court, but very few were admitted."[1] The Lord Privy Seal (the Earl of Worcester), however, and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Abbot), and the Bishop of London (Dr. King), were allowed to enter her room, when they knelt by her bedside and addressed her, "Madame, we hope that as your Majesty's strength fails outwardly, your best part groweth strong." They then said a prayer which she followed word by word; after which the Archbishop said, "Madame, we hope your Majesty doth not trust to your own merits, nor to the mediations of saints, but only by the blood and merits of our Saviour Christ Jesus you shall be saved?" They put these questions to her because they were aware of the current rumours that she had secretly embraced the Catholic faith. "I do," she answered, "and withal I renounce the mediation of all saints, any my own merits, and do only rely upon my Saviour Christ, who has redeemed my fault with His blood." "This being said," continues the eye-witness whom we are quoting, "gave great satisfaction to the Bishops, and to the few that heard her. Then the Prince was brought in to her, and she made him welcome, and asked him how he did. He answered, 'At her service,' and two or three questions merrily. Then she bade him go home. 'No,' he says, 'I will wait upon your Majesty.' She answered, 'I am a pretty piece to wait upon, servant!' (for she ever called him so). She bade him go to his chamber, and she would send for him again; he went. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury came to her, and says to her, 'Madame, all I have to say to your Majesty is, to set your heart upon God, and remember your poor servants' (meaning that she should make her will). 'I pray you,' she says, 'go home now, and I will see you upon Wednesday.' This was Monday in the afternoon. He

[1] Letter of Chamberlain. *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii., p. 531.

went away. Then the Bishop of London, a very good man, says to her, 'Madame, set your heart upon God, and forget these transitory things.' 'I do,' she answered. She bade him go home till Wednesday. 'No,' he answered, 'Madame, I will wait upon your Majesty this night.' Her desire to have them gone was because there was no lodgings for them there, neither did she find such weakness in herself.

"The Prince went to his supper," continues our informant, "the Bishop of London went to his; the Lords that were there to theirs, and the Ladies; the Earl of Worcester, the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Carey. The ladies were the Countess of Arundel, the Countess of Bedford, the Lady Ruthven, the Lady Carey. These were all, and the Countess of Derby, that came that same day in the afternoon. And the Queen being unwilling to speak to any, she sent to her, and desired to have the honour to see her once. She was denied, yet she did importune the Queen. Then she was brought in, and the Queen did ask her two or three merry questions, and bid her go to her supper. After supper the Prince was brought to her, but did stay no time. The Lords were very desirous to have her make her will. She prayed them to let her alone till the morrow, and then she would, they did imagine because Monday was a dismal day," that is to say, an unlucky day, according, perhaps, to some Danish superstition. "Still her voice was strong, but all her body cold, and feet. None durst go into her for fear to offend her. We stayed all in the chamber next to her bedchamber till she sent a command to us to go to bed, and would not suffer us to watch that night; only the physicians in the night came to her."

"About twelve o'clock she calls for the wench (Danish Anna) that sat by her, and bids her fill some drink to wash her mouth. She brought her a glass of Rhenish wine that she drank out, and says to the woman, 'Now have I

deceived the physicians.' Then she bids the woman sleep by her, and in seeing her sleep, she would sleep. But within a quarter of an hour after she again called to the woman, and bids her bring some water to wash her eyes, and with the water she brought a candle, but she did not see the light, and asked the woman for a light. She answers, 'There is one here, Madame; do you not see it?' 'No,' says the Queen. Then the woman called in the physicians, and they gave her a cordial, and sent for the Prince, and for the Lords and Ladies. This was about one o'clock. She laid her hand upon the Prince's head, and gave him her blessing. The Lords presented a paper to her (her will), and she did sign it as she could, but her sight was gone, which was to leave all to the Prince, and withal her servants to be rewarded. Then the Bishop of London made a prayer, and we all sat about her bed and prayed. And when her speech was gone, the Bishop calls to her, 'Madame, make a sign that your Majesty is one with your God, and longs to be with Him.' She held up her hand, and when the one hand failed her, she held up the other, till they both failed. To the sight of all that looked on her, her heart, her eyes, her face, was fixed upon God, and her tongue, while she had breath, expressed so much; and when that failed, her hands. And when all failed, the Bishop made another prayer, and she lay so pleasantly in the bed smiling, as if she had no pain; only, in the last, she gave five or six little groans, and had the pleasantest going out of this world that ever anybody had; and two days after looked as well as she did at any time this two years."

She breathed her last at about four o'clock in the morning,[1] passing away, according to an ancient tradition long current in the Palace, just as the old clock struck the hour.

[1] See Chamberlain's account of her death, which tallies exactly with that of her attendant.—*Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii., p. 531. In the Report on the

It is added that ever since that time the clock has always stopped whenever a death of any old resident occurs in in the Palace. Those curious in such superstitions declare that several undoubted cases of this coincidence have occurred within recent years.

Before the Queen was laid out a *post mortem* examination was held, and "upon her opening, she was found much wasted within, specially her liver, as it were quite consumed." The corpse was then embalmed, and on the 6th of March it was taken by water in a royal barge to Somerset House, where it lay in state till May 13th, when it was buried with much funeral pomp in Westminster Abbey.

The accounts as to the Queen's making her will, and as to the amount of property she left, vary somewhat. By some it was stated that "she made none other than a nuncupatory will, or by word of mouth," and that it "was rather in answering and saying 'yea' to anything that was demanded of her, than in disposing of aught herself, so that it is doubted by some already how far it will stand good and firm, specially if it fall out that the movables amount to better than £400,000, as is generally reported, and her debts not £40,000!"[1] The testimony of the eye-witness, who alleges that she *did* put her signature to the will, is probably the more trustworthy version of what occurred.

But, indeed, whatever may have been the fact, it had but small influence on the result; for the King paid no more heed than he chose to her wishes, and disposed of a large portion of her jewels and effects to Buckingham—bestowing on him in addition £1,200 in land, and the keeping of Somerset House. Prince Charles, however, was allowed to

Royal Archives of Denmark, printed in the Appendix of the forty-sixth Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, p. 14, there is a Latin letter of James I., written to Christian IV., giving him intelligence of his sister's death.

[1] Letter of Mr. Chamberlain. *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii., pp. 531-532.

enjoy the grants or monopolies on cloths and sugar, which had been lately given to the deceased, and which were worth about £13,000 a year.[1] But the bulk of her personal estate, which was reckoned by one authority as worth as much as £800,000,[2] was added to the property of the crown; her jewels and plate (valued at £400,000 and £90,000 respectively) being brought to the King's palace in four large carts. As much as £36,000 worth of the jewels, however, were declared to be missing; and Pierrot, the Queen's personal attendant, and Danish Anna, her faithful lady's maid—both of whom have been mentioned above as alone having the *entrée* of her sick-room during her illness and last hours—were accused of embezzling them, and were straightway sent to prison. The charge, however, was not substantiated, though it derived some colour from the jealousy with which they kept everyone from their mistress's bedside, which, it was supposed, was done to screen their malpractices.

But, in addition to her jewels and plate, she left in "ready coin 80,000 Jacobus pieces; 124 whole pieces of cloth of gold and silver, besides other silks and linen for quantity and quality beyond any Prince in Europe, and so for all kinds of hangings, bedding, and furniture answerable."[3]

All this, together with the saving of nearly £90,000 a year for the expenses of her household and her jointure, caused the news of her demise, which King James received in the midst of a round of amusements at Newmarket, to be much less of a blow to his Majesty than one might have supposed. In fact, he bore it with such exemplary fortitude and kingly equanimity, that he thought it only proper to show how bravely he was bearing up, by going

[1] Letter of Mr. Chamberlain. *Progresses of James. I.*, vol. iii., p. 546.

[2] Letter of Sir Edward Howard. *Progresses, ubi supra*, p. 531, n.

[3] Do., p. 532.

to the races within three weeks of her death, even before the funeral had taken place![1]

He was ready enough, however, to seize the occasion to emphasize his favourite notions of the divine and sacred nature of royal personages, and their mystic kinship with the Deity. This he did in an epitaph, in which he claimed the comet, which had recently blazed in the sky, as a heavenly portent of the Queen's death :—

> Thee to invite the great God sent His star ;
> Whose friend and nearest kin good princes are ;
> Who, though they run their race of men, and die,
> Death serves but to refine their majesty.
> So did my Queen her Court from hence remove,
> And left this earth to be enthroned above ;
> She is changed, not dead, for sure no good prince dies,
> But, like the sun, sets only for to rise.[2]

Nevertheless, in deference to human custom, the divine King James thought it best to don mourning for awhile, as though his wife's death was like that of any other mortal. To this period may, therefore, perhaps be referred Vansomer's portrait of him (now in the Queen's Bedchamber at Hampton Court), in which he is dressed entirely in a "melancholy suit of solemn black." In his right hand he holds the "George" of the Order of the Garter; his left rests on the corner of a table, on which are the crown, sceptre, and orb; while on the ground lie a breastplate and other armour.[3]

The picture, however, if it was painted at this time, can scarcely have been dry, when, just a month after his Queen's funeral, his mourning was discarded for "a suit of watchet satin, laid with blue and white feathers, insomuch," observes

[1] Camden's *Annals.*

[2] *State Papers, Domestic, James I.*, Imp. MSS. No. 2, fol. 27.

[3] No. 308 of the *Historical Catalogue.* It is inscribed "Jacobus D. G. Magn(æ Britanniæ) Franc. et Hiber (niæ Rex)," with a date, possibly 1615, but probably 1618, indicating it to have been painted not later than the 24th of March, $161\frac{8}{9}$.

the satirical John Chamberlain, "that all the company was glad to see him so gallant, and *more like a wooer than a mourner*. But what decorum it will be, when ambassadors come to condole (as here is one from the Duke of Lorraine with two or three and twenty followers, all in black), let them consider whom it concerns!"[1]

Vansomer's picture, whether painted at this time or not, is, at any rate, interesting on account of the rarity of original portraits of this King; who, according to Weldon, was always very reluctant to be painted. The caustic pen of the same author draws a description of his person, which may aptly be compared with this portrait: "He was of middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough, his clothes ever being made large and easy, the doublets quilted for stiletto proof; his breeches in great pleats and full stuffed. He was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted doublets; his eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger that came in his presence, insomuch, as many for shame have left the room, as being out of countenance. His beard was very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him speak full in the mouth, and made him drink very uncomely, *as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup of each side of his mouth.* His skin was soft as taffeta sarsenet, which felt so because *he never washed his hands*, only rubbed his finger ends slightly with the wet end of a napkin."[2] There is also at Hampton Court another picture of James I., likewise attributed to Vansomer, which represents the King in royal robes of crimson, lined with ermine, with the crown on his head, holding the sceptre in his right hand and the orb of empire in his left. He is standing in one of the rooms of the old

[1] *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii., p. 552.
[2] Sir A. Weldon's *Court and Char.*, *Secret History*, vol. ii., p. 2.



KING JAMES I.
From the portrait at Hampton Court, by Vansomer.

palace of Whitehall, through a lattice window of which is seen Inigo Jones' Banqueting House. This fixes the date of the picture to be 1620; for the Banqueting House was begun in 1619, and Vansomer died on January 5th, 1621.

The mention of Inigo Jones reminds us that he had been appointed surveyor of his Majesty's works in 1615; and in that capacity the palace of Hampton Court came more or less under his supervision. In his copy of Palladio, still preserved in the library of Worcester College, Oxford, is the following note on a fly-leaf: "The First Court of Hampton Court is 166 fo. square. The Second Fountaine Court is 92 fo. broade, and 150 fo. longe. The Greene Court is 108 fo. broade, and 116 fo. longe, the walkes or cloysters ar 14 fo. betweene the walles. September the 28th, 1625."[1]

And it happens that it was in relation to the preparing of rooms here for the Spanish ambassador—the famous Count Gondomar—that he wrote the only letter which has been preserved from his pen. The granting of lodgings within the precincts of the royal palace to any ambassador was a privilege long resisted and refused by the King, in spite of persistent solicitations on their excellencies' part; and it was conceded to Gondomar on the occasion in question, only as a very exceptional and special favour, limited to the summer months of the current year,[2] 1620, and granted to him then merely because James was desirous of winning his good-will in favour of his cherished project of the Spanish match. Even so, the apartments allotted to him were not in the main building, but in one of the detached towers of the palace, a distinction which greatly diminished his excellency's gratification. The following is Inigo Jones' letter on the subject:—

[1] Collier's *Life of Inigo Jones, Shakespeare Society*, p. 17.

[2] *State Papers, James I.*, vol. cxvi., No. 61, August 20th, 1620.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,[1]

In my journey to London I went to Hampton Court, where I heard that the Spanish ambassador came to Kingston and sent his steward to Hampton Court, who looked on the lodgings intended for the ambassador, which were in Mr. Huggins his rooms; but the steward utterly disliked those rooms, saying that the ambassador would not lie but in the house; besides, there was no furniture in those rooms, or bedding, or otherwise, neither for the ambassador or his followers. So the steward returning to his lord, he resolved only to hunt in the park and so return.[2] But the keeper answered, he might not suffer that, he having received no order for it; so the ambassador went back discontented, having had some smart sport in the warren. But since, my lord of Nottingham[3] hearing of this, sent to the ambassador, to excuse the matter, which the ambassador took very well, and promised to come and lie at Hampton Court before his Majesty's return. But in my opinion, the fault was chiefly in the ambassador, in not sending a day or two before, to see how he was provided for, and give notice what would please him.[4]

Thus, with my humble dutye, I rest
Your Honours ever to be commanded
INIGO JONES.

Ye 17 of August, 1620.

The King's return to Hampton Court took place, as usual, in the autumn; and in the month of January following, perhaps in order to allay any jealousy that might be aroused by the civilities shown to the Spanish ambassador at Hampton Court, the French ambassador was "nobly entertained with hawking and hunting" at the same place.[5]

After this we find nothing to record in the annals of the Palace until September, 1623, when a certain Dr. Whiting

[1] Inigo Jones' letter was addressed to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

[2] This was on August 4th. *State Papers, James I.*, vol. cxvi., No. 61.

[3] On August 13th a letter was written to him "directing him to take especial care of the King's game about Hampton Court"—evidently in relation to this matter. *State Papers, James I.* vol. cxvi., No. 65.

[4] Collier's *Inigo Jones*, p. 23.

[5] Camden's *Annals;* and *State Papers, James I.*, vol. cxix., No. 24, Jan. 13th, 1621; and *Progresses*, &c., p. 632.

incurred the severe displeasure of the King for some sermon he preached before his Majesty in the chapel in the Palace.[1] What was the nature of the remarks that gave such great offence we do not know, though we may suspect that it was either some inadequacy in the recognition of the doctrine of the divine right of kings, or some other of James's pet dogmas, or an attack on the Spanish match, which, on the score of religion, was naturally very distasteful to the clergy. At any rate, the preacher's delinquency was thought so grave, that it resulted in his being had up before the Council, who wrote that they "found him penitent and submissive; yet his offence requiring exemplary justice, they had committed him; although the happy return of the Prince makes this day more fit for grace and gladness."[2] In effect, Dr. Whiting was very soon after liberated, though on condition of being inhibited from preaching.[3]

"The happy return of the Prince" was from his famous romantic expedition into Spain, whither he had gone with Buckingham, to sue in person for the hand of the Infanta. The most complete cordiality was now supposed to be established between the two countries; and in anticipation of the completion of the match, the fulfilment of which was now looked upon as a certainty, the Spanish ambassador was entertained by King James and Prince Charles, at a grand banquet. Though Hampton Court does not happen to have been the scene of this festivity, the print commemorative of the event, which was engraved at the time, is so illustrative of many similar entertainments that took place in this palace during this reign, that we have introduced a copper plate facsimile of it as a frontispiece to this volume.

The "*entente cordiale*" was, however, but of short dura-

[1] *State Papers, James I.*, vol. cliii., No. 14; Conway's *Letter Book*, p. 87.
[2] Do., No. 20, October 6th, 1623.
[3] Do., No. 22; Conway's *Letter Book*, p. 88.

ation; and the match, very soon after the Prince's return, was entirely broken off; so that when, at the end of September, 1624, the Spanish agent, who was acting as *chargé d'affaires* during the absence of the ambassador, came to Hampton Court, he was pointedly slighted and scarcely any notice being taken of him; except that "Sir John Finett (the master of the ceremonies), as if he had met him by chance at his coming into the court, did bring him up to the Council Chamber, and so carried him in to the privie lodgings to repose himself." [1] Prince Charles, who had had a severe fall out hunting about a fortnight before at Hampton Court, was laid up in the Palace from its effects at this time.[2]

This is the last reference to Hampton Court that we find during the reign of James I. Instead of Charles' marriage with the Infanta, a match was negociated with the daughter of the King of France. But before the preliminaries were finally settled, "the Wonder of the World," as James is styled in the dedication of the authorized version of the Bible, was no more.

[1] *State Papers, James I.*, vol. clxxiii., Nos. 12 and 23, Oct. 4th and 6th, 1624.

[2] *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii., p. 1005.



CHARLES I.

From a rare old print in the British Museum.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHARLES I.'S QUARREL WITH HIS QUEEN.

Charles I. retires to Hampton Court—His Dislike of the Queen's French Attendants—Madame de Saint-Georges—She is slighted by the King—Buckingham's Insolent Behaviour towards the Queen—His request that his Relatives should be made Ladies of her Bedchamber refused—The Court removes to Windsor—Madame de Saint-Georges again slighted—The Plague—Two French Priests put into Quarantine in the Tilt Yard Tower—The Quarrel between Charles and Henrietta—Intolerable Conduct of the French Ecclesiastics—The Queen's Confessor insists on saying Grace—Proclamation prohibiting Communications between London and Hampton Court—The French Ambassador intrigues to get Apartments in the Palace—At last succeeds—"Gives much Trouble to the Household"—The Expense of his Board.

CHARLES I., in the earlier part of his reign, frequently visited Hampton Court, either for pleasure or to entertain distinguished foreigners, or sometimes to avoid the danger of the plague, which was on several occasions raging in London, when all communication between that city and the palace was forbidden. On this latter account it was that he came to make his first stay here as king about the 6th of July, 1625, three months after his accession to the throne, and two or three weeks after his marriage.[1]

[1] The exact date of the King's retirement to Hampton Court is nowhere precisely stated. The Comte de Tillières (*Mémoires*, ed. Hippeau, 1862,

Accompanying him, of course, was his newly-married wife, Henrietta-Maria of France, daughter of Henri IV. and Marie de Medicis, then only fifteen years of age, who brought with her a large train of French followers and servants, consisting of a hundred and six persons, both men and women, and lay as well as clerical. At the head of the clergy, who numbered some thirty priests, was Daniel du Plessis, Bishop of Mende, the Queen's Grand Almoner, and Father Bérulle, her confessor, while her lay attendants included two ambassadors—the Marquis d'Effiat and M. de la Ville-aux-Clercs—the Comte de Tillières, her chamberlain, and many lords and ladies in waiting.[1] Among her ladies was one deserving of special notice, namely, a certain Madame de Saint-Georges, who had been the Queen's companion and friend in her childhood, and who by the overweening and pernicious influence she had acquired over the mind of the Queen, had already made much mischief between the newly-married pair. Charles, in fact, soon recognized in her one of those intriguing, confidential female friends, who so often fasten themselves on weak-minded women, and ruin the happiness of so many homes. He, therefore, quickly formed the determination of banishing her from Court altogether on the first provocation; and in order to lose no time in marking his dislike to her, he declined, when starting for Hampton Court, to get into the large coach provided for himself, his wife, and her suite, that he might take instead a small one, where there was

p. 92), says that Charles, "s'en alla à Hampton Court peu de temps avant son Parlement," which we find was adjourned on July 11th (*Parliamentary History*, vol. iv., p. 353). He had, perhaps, arrived on July 6th, when Sir Thomas Lewkenor, Master of the Ceremonies, came here with the Venetian ambassador (*State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. iv., No. 13); and he was certainly here by the 7th, on which day he received in this Palace a "Petition concerning Religion," delivered by a deputation from both Houses of Parliament (Do., No. 20, and *Parl. Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 377).

[1] *Henriette-Marie*, par le Comte de Baillon, p. 61.

only room for two or three English Court ladies, but no seat for Madame de Saint-Georges.[1]

This slight offered to her friend so annoyed the Queen, that she could not refrain from showing her resentment, though she had the tact to use expressions more playful than offensive.

Of this incident the Duke of Buckingham, if he was not a witness, was at any rate speedily informed by Charles, who made his favourite his confidant in everything, allowed him to interfere in his most private concerns, and made him the medium of communicating his wishes to his young wife. Accordingly, at once after their arrival at this Palace, Buckingham sought an interview with the Queen to expostulate with her on her conduct towards Charles. As soon as he was ushered into her presence, he began in threatening language to tell her that the King, her husband, could no longer endure the way in which she lived with him; that if she did not change her demeanour towards him, means would be found to make her do so, which would render her the most miserable woman in the world; adding that as for himself, he understood well enough that he was in no great favour with her, but that he did not care a rap on that account, as he possessed the goodwill of his master, and that her illwill towards him would not benefit herself.

This extraordinary outburst, by which Buckingham seems to have hoped to terrify the Queen, and to acquire an ascendency over her youthful mind, surprised her greatly; but she answered calmly and prudently enough, that she was not aware of having given the King, her husband, any cause to be angry with her, nor would she ever; and that, such being the case, she could not conceive that he should bear her any grudge; that to him only she looked for her joy and happiness; and that as to Buckingham, so far from

[1] *Mémoires du Comte de Tillières*, p. 93.

wishing to be his enemy, she was anxious to treat him with all the consideration which was his due, if only he would behave towards her as he ought."[1]

Next day the Duke, as though oblivious of his conduct of the day before, or as if he imagined that his insults were acts of courtesy, came again to her and coolly begged her to accept his wife, his sister, and his niece as ladies of her bedchamber. She replied that the late Queen of England had had but two ladies attending her in that capacity, and that she had brought three with her from France, with whom she was quite contented; but that nevertheless she was willing to refer the matter to the French ambassadors. On receiving this answer, Buckingham at once had recourse to them himself, and represented to them, as strongly as he could, how great might be the services he should render to the Queen and to France. They could not disregard the force of these considerations, and they were already arranging means whereby to satisfy him, when the Bishop of Mende overruling them, made them consider seriously how hazardous it would be, for a young Queen like her, to put heretical women about her at her first coming into England, how scandalized all Catholics would be, both in England and abroad, and what the Pope would say. So convincing, indeed, did his arguments seem to them, that they put an end to the scheme, to the great annoyance of Buckingham, who, from that moment, conceived the most bitter hatred against him.

After the Queen had stayed a short time at Hampton Court, she went with the King to Windsor Castle, on account of the increase of the plague, which had now extended to the neighbourhood of Hampton Court, though it did not break out within the precincts of the Royal Manor, an immunity probably due to the admirable sanitary arrange-

[1] *De Tillières*, ubi supra.

ments, with which it had been endowed by Cardinal Wolsey.

On this occasion a similar scene took place in regard to Madame de Saint-Georges, as had occurred on their coming to this Palace. For Charles, who had gone to Oatlands to shoot, and who was to proceed thence to Windsor to await the arrival of the Queen, unexpectedly returned instead to join her at Hampton Court. He did this at the instigation of Buckingham, with no other object than of again having the opportunity of pointedly excluding Madame de Saint-Georges from his coach. Of this plan the Count de Tillières, her chamberlain, as he was conducting the Queen down the steps of the Great Hall, heard the Duke speaking to the King; and Charles, to emphasize the slight put upon Her Majesty's favourite, made the Marquis of Hamilton take a seat inside the coach instead of her, to the Queen's unconcealed and bitter annoyance. It is even stated by her in her own Memoirs, that when Madame de Saint-Georges thrust herself forward to try and get into the coach, Charles was so ungallant as to push her back with his own hand.[1]

While the Court was at Windsor Castle, the plague broke out in the Royal borough, and two deaths occurred in the very house where two of Queen Henrietta Maria's French priests lodged, whereupon the Court moved to Beaulieu and Titchfield, and the priests were sent to Hampton Court, and put into quarantine in one of the towers in the Tilt Yard.

After they had been kept there three weeks, and it appeared that there was no longer any danger of infection from them, they were "suffered to go away and shift for themselves."[2]

[1] *Memoirs of Henrietta-Maria*, 1671, p. 13.

[2] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. iv., Nos. 94, etc., July 20th and August 14th, 1625.

The King and Queen remained away from Hampton Court for about two months, during which time the bickerings between Charles and Buckingham on one side, and Henrietta-Maria and Madame de Saint-Georges on the other,



Old Tower in the Tilt Yard.

continued unabated. One of the chief sources of contention was the onerous nature of the stipulations in the marriage treaty for the free practice by the Queen and her attendants of the Catholic Religion, and the reluctance the King showed to fulfil them, on account of their exceeding unpopularity in England.

Equally productive of trouble was the injudicious way in which the French ecclesiastics flaunted their exemption from the penal laws in the face of everyone. This was especially the case with the Queen's confessor, Father Bérulle, who was always by her side, and whose aggressiveness led to more than one discreditable scene.

One day when the King and Queen were dining together in public in the Presence Chamber, "Mr. Hacket (chaplain to the Lord Keeper Williams), being there to say grace, the confessor would have prevented him, but that Hacket shoved him away; whereupon the confessor went to the Queen's side, and was about to say grace again, but that the King, pulling the dishes unto him, and the carvers falling to the business, hindered. When dinner was done, the confessor thought, standing by the Queen, to have been before Mr. Hacket, but Mr. Hacket again got the start. The confessor, nevertheless, begins his grace as loud as Mr. Hacket, with such a confusion, that the King in great passion instantly rose from the table, and taking the Queen by the hand, retired into the bedchamber."[1]

Another complaint of the King's against his wife had relation to her coldness and indifference towards him, the nature of which is pretty plainly told in De Tillières Memoirs. Conduct of this sort he, of course, put down to the malign influence of Madame Saint-Georges; and it made him more than ever resolved to rid himself of the whole crew, to which end he accordingly began to work immediately after his return to Hampton Court at the beginning of the month of November.[2]

At this time the plague was still raging violently not only in London, but also in the neighbourhood of Kingston;

[1] Letter from Mr. Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville Oct., 1625 (*Sloane MSS.*, 4177).

[2] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. viii., No. 37, and vol. ix., No. 2.

and a proclamation was issued, prohibiting all communications between London, Southwark and Lambeth, and this Palace.[1]

Following his Majesty hither was the French ambassador, the Marquis of Blainville, who was very anxious to be lodged in the palace during his attendance on the Court, and who tried every manœuvre he could think of to effect his purpose.[2] Sir John Finett, the Master of the Ceremonies, gives an amusing account of his efforts to this end. "I, finding," he says, "his ambition to lodge in the King's house there, acquainted my Lord Chamberlain with it (who had already given orders for his Lodging at Kingston) and received from his Lordship answer 'That his Majesty would never allow any ambassador to be lodged so near him.' Whereupon, letting the ambassador know (as dextrously as I could) what order had been already taken for his residence at Kingston; his answer at first was 'What was his Majesty's pleasure should be his obedience;' but proceeding, asked, 'The plague having been (as I am told) so much and so lately in that town, may I not be lodged within the King's House at Hampton Court?' I replied, 'it had not been the custom for ambassadors to be so lodged.' 'Yet,' said he, 'the Duke de Chevereux had his lodging in the house at Richmond, and so had the Marquesse de Fyat.'" To this Finett did not reply, but sent a message to the King, who directed him to explain the exceptional circumstances of those cases, and that the King was absent from the palace when they were put up. In conclusion Finett declared that "neither his Majesty nor the King his father had ever lodged any ambassador in their houses while they themselves lodged in them, and that his Majesty now would be loth to make a '*President*' that would

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xviii. p. 198.
[2] *Memoires du Comte de Tillières*, p. 101.

hereafter beget him so great a trouble as this was like to be, and that therefore his Majesty hoped that the ambassador would not take it in ill part if he did not in this correspond with his desires."

There for a time the matter rested, but Blainville did not relax his efforts, and continued to intrigue and supplicate to get a footing in the palace, until at last, at the urgent solicitation of the Queen, his request was granted, and he was allowed to reside in Hampton Court Palace. But even then he was not admitted into the main building; the rooms assigned to him being "all those next the river, in the garden, which were sometime the Lady Elizabeth's"[1]—that is, Charles I.'s sister, the Queen of Bohemia—the building being the same "Water Gallery" in which Queen Elizabeth, when Princess, was lodged by her sister Queen Mary as a state prisoner.

The presence of his Excellency in the Palace, especially as it involved providing him and his suite with board at the expense of the King, was viewed with great disfavour by the officials at Court; and in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham,[2] written from Hampton Court about this time, Mr. Secretary Conway freely dilates on the expense and inconvenience thus occasioned. "The ambassador,"[3] writes he, "gives much trouble to the household here. He hath procured from his Majesty a lodging in this house, and so his diet comes to be divided here for himself, and at Kingston for his company; so an increase of several new demands came in, for wood, and coals and twenty other things; and so for Madame St.-Georges, the Bishop, and that train, which makes the white staves to scratch where it itcheth not. It must come to be examined by commission; if I am one, I will never give my consent to additions."

[1] Finett's *Philoxenis*, p. 166. [2] Dated Nov. 30th.
[3] Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 6.

This shows commendable zeal on the part of Mr. Secretary Conway for economy in the public expenditure, the necessity of which becomes apparent when we learn that the charges for the ambassador's household amounted in a month or two to over £2,000.[1]

[1] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. ix., No. 54, Nov. 12th, 1625. "Cofferers of the Household for the diet and expenses of the Marquis de Blainville, Ambassador Extraordinary from France, with such further sum as shall be needful. The writers certify that £1,230 has been already expended over and above the said £500, and request payment accordingly."

CHAPTER IX.

DISMISSAL OF HENRIETTA-MARIA'S FRENCH SUITE.

The Queen's undutiful Behaviour to her Husband—Quarrels with him about her Household—His Complaints to the Queen-Mother—He resolves to dismiss the French Suite—His Letters to Buckingham on the Subject—The Duke's Resentment against the French—He foments the Dissensions between Charles and his Wife—The Queen refuses to be Crowned with the King—The French Suite expelled from England, Bag and Baggage—Visits of Paul Rozencrantz and Bethlem Gabor—Bassompierre's Mission to England—His Interview with Buckingham—A private Audience arranged—He is received by the King—Charles breaks his Promise—Indignation of Bassompierre—"The Arrogance of the English"—The King grants him an Audience—"Puts himself into a great Passion"—Impudence of Buckingham—Abortive Results of Bassompierre's Embassy.

TWO days after the return of the Court to Hampton Court, the disagreement between Charles and his wife broke out in another direction, over the settlement of the Queen's household,[1] Henrietta maintaining that it was her prerogative, under the marriage treaty, to bestow the offices connected with the management and the collection of the revenues of her dowry, on her French followers. This, whatever may have been the correct interpretation of the treaty, was

[1] *Tillières*, p. 108.

certainly an aggressive attitude for her to take up; and Charles, in a letter which he wrote to the Queen-Mother of France, complained much of her undutiful conduct in this regard, attributing it to Madame de Saint-Georges, "who taking it in distaste because I would not let her ride with us in the coach (when there were many women of higher quality), claiming it as her due (which in England we think a strange thing), set my wife in such a humour against me, as from that very hour to this no man can say she has behaved two days together with the respect that I have deserved of her. As I take it, it was at her first coming to Hampton Court that I sent some of my council to her, with the regulations that were kept in the Court of the Queen my mother, and desired the Comte de Tillières that the same might be kept. The answer of Queen Henrietta to this deputation was, 'I hope I shall be suffered to order my own house as I list.' Now if she had said," continued the King, "that she would speak with me herself, not doubting to give me satisfaction, I would have found no fault in her, for whatsoever she had said I should have imputed it to her ignorance of business; but I could not imagine her affronting me so by refusal publicly. After this answer, I took my time when I thought we had leisure to dispute it out by ourselves, to tell her both her fault in the publicity of such answer, and her mistakes; but she gave me so ill an answer that I omit to repeat it. Likewise I have to complain of her neglect of the English tongue, and of the nation in general."

In another letter, also addressed to her mother about this period, he renewed his complaints. "One night, after I was a-bed, my wife put a paper in my hand telling me 'It was a list of those she desired to be officers of her revenue.' I took it, and said that 'I would read it next morning;' but, withal, I told her 'that, by agreement in France, I had the

naming of them.' She said, 'There were both English and French in the note.' I replied, that 'Those English whom I thought fit to serve her, I would confirm; but for the French it was impossible for them to serve her in that capacity.' She said, 'All those in that paper had breviates from her mother and herself, and that she would admit no other.' Then I said, 'It was neither in her mother's power, nor hers, to admit any without my leave; and if she relied on that, whomsoever she recommended should not come in.' Then she plainly bade me 'take my lands to myself, for since she had no power to put in whom she would into those places, she would have neither lands or houses of me;' but bade me 'give her what I thought fit by way of pension.' I bade her remember to whom she spoke, and told her 'she ought not to use me so.' Then she fell into a passionate discourse, 'how she is miserable, in having no power to place servants; and that business succeeded the worse for her recommendation.' When I offered to answer, she would not so much as hear me, but went on lamenting, saying 'that she was not of such base quality as to be used so!' But," continued Charles, "I both made her hear me, and end that discourse."[1]

In all this affair Charles, in the opinion of De Tillières, showed "une bassesse bien grande et une arrogance insupportable;"[2] but in that of his own courtiers he was only making a very necessary stand for his own dignity, and for the assertion of his proper authority, which they assured him would suffer irremediably unless he kept his wife in subjection, as no one would think a man capable of governing a kingdom who was unable to govern his wife.

In the meantime the Court continued at Hampton Court,[3]

[1] D'Israeli's (?) *Commentaries of the Life and Reign of Charles I.*

[2] *Mémoires du Comte de Tillières*, p. 109.

[3] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, November and December, 1625. *Passim.*

and it was from this Palace that Charles wrote to Buckingham, who was then in Holland on his way to France, to inform him of his determination to send away the French on the first opportunity.

Nov: 20. 1625.

Steenie,

I writ to you, by Ned Clarke, that I thought I should have cause enough, in a short time, to put away the *Monsers* [Monsieurs] either by [their] attempting to steal away my wife, or by making plots with my own subjects. For the first I cannot say certainly whether it was intended, but I am sure it is hindered; for the other, though I have good grounds to believe it I am still hunting after it, yet seeing daily the maliciousness of the *monsers*, by making and fomenting discontentments in my wife, I could tarry no longer from advertising you that I mean to seek for no other grounds to cashier my *monsers*, that you may (if you think good) advertise the queen mother [Marie de Medicis] of my intention; for this being an action which may have a show of harshness, I thought it was fit to take this way, that she [the queen mother], to whom I have had many obligations, may not take it unkindly. And likewise, I think I have done you no wrong in my letter, though in some place of it, I may seem to chide you. I pray you send me word, with what speed you may, whether ye like this course or not, for I shall put nothing of this in execution while [till] I hear from you. In the meantime I shall think of convenient means to do this business with the best mien; but I am resolved it must be done, and that shortly. So, longing to see thee, I rest

Your loving, faithful constant friend

CHARLES R.[1]

Hampton Court.

The letter in which Charles, as he says, "may seem to chide" Buckingham, was likewise addressed to his favourite, dated the same day, November 20th, and also written from Hampton Court. It was, however, couched in such a tone, and worded in such a manner, as to make it appear that he

[1] Published in Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 2.

was most reluctant to dismiss his wife's attendants, and that Buckingham was using all his influence against his doing so, but protesting that he should be reluctantly compelled to take this course, unless they ceased to set their mistress against him.[1]

All this was, of course, directly at variance with the facts; and it is evident that the letter was written with a view of being shown to the Queen Mother, in order to prepare her for the step he was contemplating, and to mislead her as to the true state of affairs, especially in regard to Buckingham's real sentiments towards the French.

This letter, however, the Duke never had an opportunity of showing to Marie de Medicis; for Richelieu, who knew that his object in desiring to come to Paris was to make love to the Queen, Anne of Austria, for whom he had a romantic attachment, interdicted him from entering France at all.

In another of Charles's letters to the Duke, without date, but apparently belonging to this time, he says: "As for news, my wife begins to mend her manners; I know not how long it will continue, for they say it is by advice, but the best of all is they say the Monsieurs desire to return home. I will not say this is certain, for you know nothing they say can be so."[2]

It was while affairs were in this posture that Buckingham returned to England, burning with indignation against the French, and more than ever determined to assist the King in his resolve of expelling them from the kingdom, whereby he would avenge himself for being denied access to France, and rid himself of the only influence likely to dispute his paramount supremacy at Court.

Accordingly he came down without delay to Hampton

[1] Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 3. See also Bassompierre's *Embassy to England*, Croker's edition, p. 125.

[2] Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 12.

Court, and at once set to work inflaming Charles against them, and fomenting his disagreement with his wife. In the interviews he had with the Queen on Charles's account, he showed the most extraordinary presumption, telling her plainly that unless she gave in to whatever he wished, he would do all he could to put them on bad terms with each other; and actually having the audacity to remind her that "Queens of England had been beheaded before now!"[1]

All this shows that the Queen, on her part, had much to bear, through the King's excessive partiality for Buckingham, in the license he allowed him in speaking to her, and from the way in which he made him the confidant of all his grievances against her. In this, in truth, she had quite as much ground of complaint as the King had in regard to Madame de Saint-Georges; and we cannot but feel pity for her, when we remember that she was still a mere girl of sixteen years of age, in a foreign country, and among a people and in a Court, alien in religion and language, and with only her own French attendants to whom she could look for any assistance or sympathy.

That in these circumstances, she should sometimes have behaved injudiciously is not surprising, especially when we consider the difficult position in which her religion was continually placing her. We have a striking instance of this in her refusal to be crowned with the King by the Archbishop of Canterbury, when that ceremony, which had been deferred on account of the plague, took place on February 2nd, 1626, about a month after the Court returned to London from Hampton Court.[2]

This act, though it did her credit as a conscientious Catholic, who could not, consistently with her religious professions, take part in what she regarded as an heretical rite,

[1] *Mémoires de Madame de Motteville*, vol. i. p. 345.
[2] *De Tillières*, pp. 114, &c.

performed by men in revolt against the Church of God, was naturally a cause of deep offence to Charles and his people. Indeed, it was interpreted as an intentional slight offered to the religion of England, which was never forgiven, and which rankled particularly in the breasts of the bitter-hearted Puritans.

After this, things went on from bad to worse, and at last they reached such a pass that Charles, after removing the French attendants from Court, finally expelled them from the kingdom altogether, bag and baggage.

The letter to Buckingham, in which he gave the final order for their removal, is too remarkable not to be cited in full :—

Steenie

I have receaved your letter by Dic Greame. This is my answer. I command you to send all the French away by tomorrow out of the Towne. If you can, by faire meanes (but stike not long in disputing), otherways, force them away, dryving them away *lyke so manie wylde beastes*, until ye have shipped them, and so *the Devill goe with them*. Lett me heare no answer, but of the performance of my command. So I rest

Your faithfull constant loving friend

CHARLES R.[1]

Oaking the 7 August 1626.

So peremptory a measure naturally excited the greatest commotion at the French Court; for, however necessary it may have been politically, it was undoubtedly a flagrant violation of the treaty of marriage, and gave the French only too good reason to rail against "la facilité des Anglais à tout promettre et leur effronterie à ne rien tenir."[2] In fact, it would have at once led to a war between the two countries, had not Richelieu preferred diplomatic measures, and despatched the Marshal de Bassompierre, an accom-

[1] Ellis' *Original Letters*, vol. iii. p. 224.

[2] *De Tillières*, p. 129.

plished and able diplomatist, as a special envoy to try and arrange a compromise.

Pending his arrival Charles went back again to Hampton Court, and here Paul Rozencrantz, ambassador from Denmark, who had had his first audience of the King on the 11th of July, 1626,[1] had another here on the 21st of September,[2] when he was received in the Presence Chamber, "although the chapel had been originally assigned for it." About the same time an ambassador from Bethlem Gabor, the adventurous Prince of Transylvania, also had an audience. "He was received by Lord Compton at the second gate, and there turning up the Great Stairs through the Great Hall and Guard Chamber, the King was already under 'the State' in the Privy Chamber expecting him."[3] The Court appears to have stayed on at this palace during the rest of the summer, and here, on the 6th of October, Laud began his career of ecclesiastical promotion by being appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal, taking the oath in the vestry before the Lord Chamberlain.[4] About the same time he was secretly informed by the Duke of Buckingham that the King had resolved that he should succeed the then Archbishop of Canterbury—a preferment to which he was advanced six years after.

In the meanwhile, Bassompierre had arrived in England, and after spending some days in London, where he conferred with Buckingham and other ministers, he came down on Sunday, October 11th, 1626, to Hampton Court in one of the King's coaches. A sumptuous dinner had been prepared for him, but he came too late for it, "purposely it was thought," and when "a collation was then set on the table, it remained untasted by him or his fellows," from which Sir John Finette, the Master of the Ceremonies, inferred that

[1] Finett, p. 181. [2] Do., p. 185. [3] Finett's *Philoxenis*, p. 187.
[4] Laud's *Diary*, Sept. 30th, Oct. 3rd and 6th, p. 84.



Back Court near the Fish Kitchen.

he would not receive the King of England's hospitality, and sagaciously predicted *War!*[1] Buckingham then came to tell him that the King desired to know beforehand what he purposed saying, "and that the King," says Bassompierre, "would not have me speak to him about any business; that otherwise he would not give me audience.[2] I said to him that the King should know what I had to say to him from my own mouth, and that it was not the custom to limit an ambassador in what he had to represent to the sovereign, to whom he was sent, and that if he did not wish to see me, I was ready to go back again. He swore to me that the only reason which obliged him (the King) to this, and which made him insist upon it, was that he could not help putting himself in a passion in treating the matters about which I had to speak to him, which would not be decent in the chair of state, in sight of the chief persons of the kingdom, both men and women; that the Queen his wife was close to him, who, incensed at the dismissal of her servants, might commit some extravagance, and cry, in sight of everybody. In short, that he would not commit himself in public; and that he was resolved sooner to break up this audience, and grant me one in private, than to treat with me concerning any business before everybody."

The Duke swore vehemently that he was telling the ambassador the truth, and that he had not been able to induce the King to see him under any other conditions, and begged him to oblige him by suggesting some expedient. Bassompierre, who saw it was likely that he would be insulted, and who was anxious that things should go smoothly, answered that though he could do nothing but what his master the King of France prescribed to him, yet it depended on King

[1] Disraeli's *Charles I.*, and Finett's *Philoxenis*, p. 189.

[2] *Embassy to England in* 1626, ed. Croker, p. 37.

Charles to shorten or lengthen the audience in what manner he chose. He added that Charles might (after having allowed him to make his bow, and after having received, with the French King's letters, his first compliments), as soon as he began to open to his Majesty the occasion of his coming, interrupt him, and say, according to the ambassador's suggestion, "Sir, you are come from London, and you have to return thither; it is late; this matter requires a longer time than I could now give you. I shall send for you one of these days at an earlier hour, and we will confer about it at our leisure in a private audience. In the meanwhile I shall satisfy myself with having seen you, and heard of the King my brother-in-law and the Queen my mother-in-law, and I will not delay the impatience which the Queen my wife has to hear of them also from you." "Upon which," added Bassompierre, "I shall take my leave of him, to go and make my bow to the Queen."

Buckingham, who seems to have been anxious at this time to compose the difficulties that had arisen, was enchanted with this idea, and embracing the ambassador cordially, said, "You know more of these things than we; I have offered you my assistance in the affair you are come to negotiate, but now I recall the promise I gave you, for you can do very well without me;" and so he left him, laughing, to go and tell the King of this expedient, who acquiesced in it, and promised punctually to observe it. Buckingham then came back to fetch Bassompierre and introduce him to the King. He found Charles in the Audience Chamber, seated by the side of the Queen, on a stage raised a couple of steps under the canopy of state.[1] They both rose to acknowledge the bow he made them on entering. "The company," says Bassompierre, "was magnificent; the order exquisite. I made my compliment to the King, gave him my letters, and

[1] See also Finett's *Philoxenis*, p. 187.

after having said my words of civility, as I was proceeding to those of business, he interrupted me in the same form as I had proposed to the Duke."

He then saw the Queen, to whom he said but little, because she told him that the King had given her leave to go to London, where she could see him at her leisure. He then withdrew, and was attended to the gateway by the principal lords and officers of state. Just as he was getting into his coach the secretary came up and told him that the King wished him to be informed, that although he had promised him a private audience, he nevertheless would not give him one until he sent back to France Father Sancy, whom he had brought with him, and who was very obnoxious to the English Court, having formerly belonged to the Queen's suite. Charles added to the message that he had desired him to do so three several times without effect, and that he felt much offended at the disregard with which his request was treated. Bassompierre to this answered with what excuses he could, expressing his wish to conform to his request as far as it was consistent with his duty. He ended, however, by saying, "If he will not give me an audience, I shall send to the King my master to know what he pleases I should ask after that refusal; who will not, in my opinion, allow me to grow old in England, waiting till the King takes a fancy or finds leisure to hear me." This he said loud enough for the bystanders to hear, and he then expressed his resentment to Buckingham, who was standing by him, begging that he might hear no more of this affair, unless they gave him an order to leave London and the island directly, which he would receive with joy. All this he said with perfect composure, and then quietly entered the coach and drove to London. He had indeed good cause to express annoyance, and he ever after bore a grudge against the English

for the treatment he received at the King's hands. "I have received," he said, "condescension from the Spaniards and civility even from the Swiss, but I have never been able to overcome the arrogance of the English."

The King, however, afterwards waived his objections, and on Thursday, the 15th of October, Bassompierre was sent for to Hampton Court, and received by the King in a long audience, in one of the galleries. His Majesty, according to his excellency, "put himself into a great passion," complained of the intrigues and factions of the French—their malice in endeavouring to wean the Queen's affections from him, and their insolence in setting her against England, the language, and everything English. At last he got so angry as to exclaim to the ambassador, "Why do you not execute your commission at once, and declare war?" To which Bassompierre answered firmly and with dignity, "I am not a herald to declare war, but a Marshal of France to make it when declared." In his account of the interview Bassompierre proceeds to say, "I witnessed there an instance of great boldness, not to say impudence, of the Duke of Buckingham, which was, that when he saw us the most warmed, he ran up suddenly and threw himself between the King and me, saying, 'I am come to keep the peace between you two.' Upon which I took off my hat, and as long as he stayed with us I would not put it on again, notwithstanding all the entreaties of the King and of himself to do so; but when he went, I put it on without the King desiring me. When I had done, and that the King could speak to me, he asked me why I would not put on my hat while he was by, and that I did so so freely when he was gone. I answered that I had done it to do him honour, because he was not covered and that I should have been, which I could not suffer; for which he was much pleased with me, and often mentioned it in my praise. But

I had also another reason for doing so, which was, that it was no longer an audience, but a private conversation, since he had interrupted us, by coming in, as a third, upon us. After my last audience was over, the King brought me through several galleries to the Queen's apartments, where he left me, and I her, after a long conversation, and I was brought back to London."

The negotiations were continued after this for some time, but they resulted in no substantial concessions from Charles. Nevertheless, we cannot but admire the tact and temper with which Bassompierre acted throughout his mission, though he found it impossible to shake the King's determination to be rid of the people who had worked such mischief in his household and in his home.

"See, Sir," wrote he to the dismissed Bishop of Mende, "to what we are reduced! and imagine my grief, that the Queen of Great Britain has the pain of viewing my departure, without being of any service to her; but if you consider that I was sent here to make a contract of marriage observed, and to maintain the Catholic Religion, in a country from which they formerly banished it to break a contract of marriage, you will assist in excusing me of this failure."[1]

[1] Disraeli's *Charles I.*

CHAPTER X.

CHARLES I. AT HAMPTON COURT—THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Picture of Buckingham and his Family—More Plays at the Palace—Laud supplies Dresses and Scenery—Renewed Outbreak of the Plague—Stringent Regulations against Londoners coming within Ten Miles of Hampton Court—Shakespeare's Plays acted in the Great Hall—Properties for the Play called the "Royal Slave"—Picture of Charles I. Dining in Public—Charles orders the Cutting of the Longford River—The Water Supply for the Palace—His Works of Art—Projects a vast and magnificent Hunting Ground from Hampton Court to Richmond—Unpopularity of the Scheme—Laud opposes it—The King relinquishes it—The Grand Remonstrance presented to Charles at Hampton Court—Aldermen of the City entertained—A "Heavenly King"—Attempted Arrest of the Five Members—Charles's Flight to Hampton Court.

FROM the year 1626[1] to 1630, no events of any importance took place at Hampton Court, though Charles was frequently here with his Court, often two or three times a year, and at all seasons.[2] On these occasions the Duke of Buckingham, who was now at the summit of his influence, was of course

[1] On Oct. 30th, 1626, the Great Seal was given to Sir Thomas Coventry at Hampton Court.—Kennett, vol. iii., p. 72.

[2] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I., passim;* Laud's *Diary*, 1627, Sept., &c. Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 18.



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FAMILY OF GEORGE VILLIERS, IST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

From the picture at Hampton Court by Honthorst.

always in attendance on the King; and to this period belongs the curious picture, of him and his family, attributed to Honthorst, which may be seen at Hampton Court, and of which we here insert an engraving. The Duke is in the middle, seated, and holding the hand of his wife, Lady Katherine Manners, the heiress of the Earl of Rutland, "the poor fool Kate," as James I. used to call her. In front of them is their daughter Mary, afterwards Countess of Pembroke and Duchess of Richmond, who was then about seven years old. On the extreme left, near the window, is Buckingham's sister, the Countess of Denbigh; while his mother, the Countess of Buckingham, in a gigantic ruff, is sitting between her two other sons. The eldest, John—created in 1619 Lord Villiers of Stoke and Viscount Purbeck, whose marriage to Lord Chief Justice Coke's daughter took place in the chapel of this Palace, in the circumstances narrated in a former chapter—stands behind his brother the Duke, and is leaning on his chair. The other, Christopher, created in 1623 Baron Daventry and Earl of Anglesea, is on the extreme right, with his hand resting on a table. The child in front, held by a lady kneeling, is Buckingham's eldest son, the witty Duke, who was born in January, 1627, and who cannot have been much more than a year old when this picture was painted, as the great favourite fell a victim to Felton's dagger on August 23rd, 1628.[1]

After the assassination of Buckingham, until the beginning of the troubles of the Civil War, Charles paid occasional visits to the Palace. He was here, for instance, in November, 1630, when a play, founded "upon a piece of Persian story," which had been performed before the King and Queen at Christ Church, Oxford, in the preceding month of August, and which had given the Court great

[1] For further particulars as to this picture, see the author's *Historical Catalogue*, No. 58.

satisfaction, was, by the Queen's express desire, presented again at Hampton Court, as her Majesty wished to see if her own players could act it as well as the University men. Laud, as Chancellor of the University, caused the authorities to send "both the clothes and the perspectives of the stage" to the palace.[1] But though the "strangeness of the Persian habit gave great content," it was admitted by all that "the players came far short of the University actors."

In 1632 there were further theatricals, two plays being performed here, £20 being paid for the first to Mr. Joseph Taylor and Mr. Swanston, and the same sum for the second to Mr. Christopher Beeston and the rest of the Queen's players.[2]

Charles and his Court were at the palace again in the summer of the year 1636, when, on June 12th, Strafford kissed hands on his appointment as Lord Deputy of Ireland, and had a final and secret audience before starting for that country.[3]

The plague was again at this time very prevalent in London, and a proclamation was issued forbidding anybody from that place coming within ten miles of the palace, or plying by barge up and down the river, or bringing any goods or commodities to and fro. These prohibitions were, of course, often broken, and the blockade run by adventurous persons who saw their way to making a profit thereby; and several persons were summoned for this offence before the Lords of the Privy Council, and severely punished. Great complaint was also made that "divers Londoners obtained houses near Hampton Court and Oatlands, and these in habit going daily to and from London, which cannot be without great peril to their Majesties," and the Justices

[1] *Diary*, Aug. 30th, 1628.
[2] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. ccxxix., No. 67.
[3] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. cccxxvi., No. 11.

were commanded to remove such persons from their houses, and to enjoin those who had settled there before neither to go to London themselves, nor allow their servants to go there, on pain of being turned out, and having their houses shut up.[1] These regulations were strictly enforced; and the plague having broken out again in Kingston and Teddington, arrangements were made for isolating the sick in sheds and hulks built on the neighbouring commons, and for disinfecting all houses which had harboured any of those smitten with the disease. The people of Kingston, however, were rather remiss in carrying out the requirements of the Council, who complained that the bailiffs neither kept the infected houses shut, nor put "the Red Cross nor any other mark on them, nor any watch set to keep the people therein from going forth and visiting others."

The continuance of the plague kept the Court at Hampton Court all through the autumn and winter,[2] till Christmas time; but the fear of contagion did not prevent the players being summoned from London, and "commanded to assemble their company, and keep themselves together near the Court, ready to give frequent performances in the Great Hall of the palace." They were given an allowance of £20 a week, paid to John Lowen and Joseph Taylor on their behalf, which, beginning from the 1st of November, was continued till the end of January, 1637.[3]

The plays performed at Hampton Court were as follow: the 17th of November, "The Coxcombe;" the 19th of November, "Beggar's Bush;" the 29th of November, "The Maid's Tragedy;" the 6th of December, "The Loyall Subject;" the 8th of December, "The Moore of Venice;" the

[1] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. cccxxx., No. 74, &c., Aug. 27th, Sept. 18th, 19th, 21st, 26th, &c.

[2] One death from the plague took place at Hampton Court. *Historical Commission, Fourth Report*, p. 78.

[3] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. cccxxxvii., Dec. 13th, 1636.

16th of December, "Love's Pilgrimage;" St. Stephen's Day, "the First Part of Arviragus;" St. John's Day, "the Second Part of Arviragus;" the 1st of January, "Love and Honour" (by Davenant); the 5th of January, "The Elder Brother;" the 10th of January, "The Kinge and noe Kinge;" the 12th of January, "the new playe from Oxford, 'The Royall Slave'" (by Cartwright); the 17th of January, "Rollo;" the 24th of January, "Hamlett."[1]

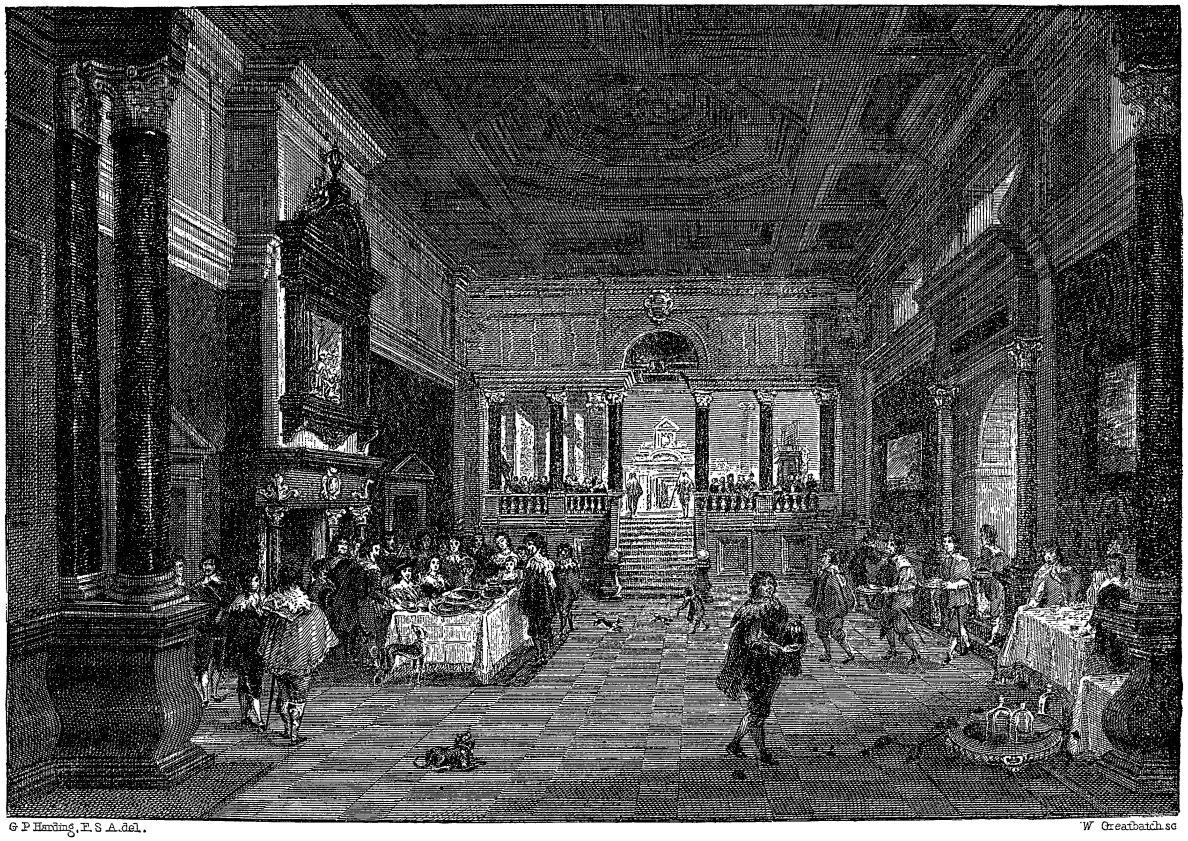
It is interesting to note that here we have conclusive evidence that in the Great Hall of Hampton Court Shakespeare's plays were acted by his own contemporaries before Charles I. and his Court.

Among other particulars which are likewise of theatrical interest is a warrant, dated April 11th, 1637, "to pay £154, being the charge of the alterations and additions made in the scene, apparel, and properties employed for setting forth the new play called, 'The Royal Slave,' lately acted at Hampton Court, together with the charge of dancers and composers of music, the same to be paid as follows, viz., to Peter le Huc, property-maker, £50; to George Portman, painter, £50; and to Estienne Nau and Sebastien la Pierre for themselves and 12 dancers, £54."[2]

When Charles came to Hampton Court on these occasions, we may presume that he sometimes dined in public in the Great Hall or some other of the State Rooms, as he did when in London. At any rate we have an interesting reminiscence of the custom in an old picture preserved at this Palace, which was painted by Van Bassan for Charles, and is inscribed with the date 1637. Though the architecture indicates that the chamber depicted was not one at Hampton Court, yet in other points the picture is sufficiently

[1] Cunningham's *Revels at Court*, p. xxiv.

[2] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. cccliii., No. 55, April 11th, 1637. and Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, vol. ii., p. 12.



Charles I. and his Queen dining in Public.

From the picture by B. van Bassen at Hampton Court.

illustrative of similar scenes at this Palace. The King and Queen are seated at the table side by side, with the little Prince (afterwards Charles II.) at the end of the table. They are being served by gentlemen-in-waiting. At the end of the room is a raised and recessed gallery or dais, where the public are looking on. "There were daily," says an old authority, "at Charles I.'s Court, 86 tables well furnished each meal; whereof the King's table had 28 dishes; the Queen's, 24; 4 other tables, 16 dishes each, and so on; in all about 500 dishes, each meal, with beer, bread, wine, and all things necessary."[1]

The Court was again at Hampton Court in the autumn of 1638, when, on the 30th of September, the play of "The Unfortunate Lover," by Sir William Davenant, was played before the King and Queen.[2] On the 2nd of October, King Charles knighted Balthazar Gerbier, who had been negotiating at Brussels and the Hague a settlement of the Spanish difficulty, and had also been acting for him in the purchase of works of art.[3]

It was in the same year, 1638, that Charles, on the 26th of September, directed a commission to certain persons, among whom was Lord Cottington, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to consider how part of the waters of the River Colne, in Middlesex, might be taken over Hounslow Heath into the parks at Hampton Court, "for the better accommodation of the palace, and the recreation and disport of his Majesty." The object Charles had in view was probably the bringing of water to the ponds in the parks and the fountains in the gardens, and perhaps the furnishing of a supply of drinking water to the palace, additional to that derived

[1] *Present State of London*, 1681.

[2] See G. R. Wright's *Archæologic and Historic Fragments*, p. 10; J. O. Halliwell-Phillips, *Dictionary of Old English Plays*.

[3] Sainsbury's *Original Papers relating to Rubens*, p. 211; Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*.

from the Cardinal's conduits at Coombe Hill. The works, which were determined on and begun almost at once after the issuing of the commission, involved the cutting of a channel from Longford to the palace, twenty-one feet wide, two feet deep, and eleven miles long,[1] a great part of the distance being taken up by the deepening, broadening, and banking up of an existing branch of the Colne. The cutting, which was entrusted to the charge of Edward Manning, one of the commissioners, was begun on October 8th, and finished July 16th of the following year, 1639, the cost amounting to the sum of £4,102, which was provided for out of the revenues of the Court of Wards and Liveries.[2] Since then the channel thus regulated has been known as "the King's or Longford River," and it has from that time supplied the ponds and ornamental waters at Hampton Court; while, from the discontinuance in 1876 of the supply of Coombe water, it has been the sole and exclusive source of drinking water for the palace.[3]

The contract included "the Laying dry of Hampton Court House and the lodgings there, with the sluices, floodgates, &c., thought needful by the Commissioners for that river." The river afterwards gave rise to much contention between the Government and the inhabitants of the districts through which it was cut, on account of the injury done to their property and lands by the giving way of the banks and the decay of the bridges.

About the same period Charles gave orders for some improvements to be made in the gardens of Hampton Court,[4] which were decorated with statues, both of the classical and

[1] Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes.*

[2] *State Papers, Charles I.*, vol. cccc., No. 70, Oct. 22nd, 1638; and vol. ccccxlii., No. 144, Jan. 28th, 1640. See also *Enrolled Accounts* in the Record Office.

[3] See vol. i., p. 23, n.

[4] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. ccccxv., No. 35, March 25th, 1639.

Renaissance periods; and he bestowed much care on the furnishing of the rooms, and their embellishment with pictures and other works of art and curiosities. It was in 1639 that he had his catalogue of pictures compiled by Vanderdoort, and in it there are three or four hundred pictures specified as being in this palace at that time—many of which, after having gone through various vicissitudes, are now still to be found here. Among these we would especially note the "Triumph of Julius Cæsar," a splendid composition of nine pieces, Mantegna's greatest and richest work, which is still the glory of Hampton Court.

It must have been about the same time that King Charles, who was fairly fond of sport, conceived the idea of making a great park for red as well as fallow deer between Hampton Court and Richmond, where he had a great deal of wooded land, affording excellent cover for game, and large wastes which, with the domains of the two palaces, would have formed a magnificent and extensive enclosure to serve him as an agreeable and convenient hunting-ground close to London.[1] There were, however, some parishes that had rights of common on the wastes, and many farmers and gentlemen had houses intermingled with them, so that his Majesty experienced considerable difficulty in treating with them for the purchase of their interests. Altogether the scheme, which would have involved the enclosing a tract of country ten miles round, was very unpopular, and he was strongly advised against it by Lord Cottington and other ministers, both on account of the great expense it would have involved, and of the murmurs that were excited among the country people on all sides. The King, however, would not brook opposition to his wishes, and when Lord Cottington tried to dissuade him from it, he declared, "He was resolved to

[1] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i., p. 100.

go through with it, and had already caused brick to be burned, and much of the wall to be built upon his own land." [1]

But the building of the wall before people had consented to part with their lands or their common, looked as if they were to be by degrees shut out of both, and increased the popular excitement and indignation. At last Archbishop Laud, who was always very anxious for the King to be on good terms with the people, when none of his own "fads" were concerned, undertook to remonstrate with him. Eventually the King yielded to persuasion, and the project was abandoned: the second royal attempt to create a "new forest" at Hampton Court being thus nullified like the first.[2]

After the year 1639 the excited state of political affairs left Charles but little leisure to amuse himself at Hampton Court. He was residing here, however, at the beginning of August, 1640, when the plague breaking out, and two or three deaths occurring in the stables, the Court hastily left the Palace.[3] He was here again, also, after his return from Scotland on the 26th of November, 1641, to rest awhile from the toil and burden of business;[4] and he was still at this Palace, when the Grand Remonstrance, which set out in the most powerful language all the errors and misdeeds of his Government, was voted in the House of Commons. This document, which must have been especially mortifying to Charles, as directly appealing to public opinion against him, was presented to his Majesty himself on December 1st

[1] Grove's *History of Wolsey*, vol. iv., p. 186, *note*.

[2] As to Henry VIII.'s enclosure of the Chase of Hampton Court, and its subsequent dechasing in the reign of Edward VI., see vol. i., pp. 213-215.

[3] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. cccclxiii., No. 12, Aug. 3rd, 1640.

[4] Heath's *Chronicle of the Civil Wars*, p. 25. Also *Correspondence of Sir Edw. Nicholas and King Charles I.*, appended to *Evelyn's Diary*, ed. 1827, and Clarendon.

at Hampton Court.[1] "The King was much concerned at the harshness of it, but promised an answer as soon as the weight of business would permit, and desired there should be no publishing that declaration till they had received his answer to it." To this request, however, they paid no attention; but immediately blazoned it throughout the kingdom—a course Charles took as an act of great disrespect to himself.[2]

Three days after, perhaps to counteract, to some extent, its effect among the citizens of London, he sent for seven of the City aldermen to Hampton Court; and in response to a petition they brought with them, that he should come up and reside in London, "whereby the trade of the city, which had been so much hindered by the King's long absence in Scotland, might be revived," he promised to leave Hampton Court in a day or two, and come to Whitehall; while, "to express his extraordinary love to the City," he made them all knights.[3] By such trivial actions does he seem to have thought, in his delusion, that he could stem the tide of disaffection among his subjects, an opinion which was certainly shared by the courtier-scribe who records the fact, and who exclaims, in a fervour of loyal enthusiasm, "What encouragement can subjects have more to love and obey a King than to have such favour and love shown by a King, for whose prosperous, happy and successive reigne, it behoves us all to pray: else there is no question to be made, but that judgment will be showred downe upon our heads by the Heavenly King, for not loving so good a heavenly King."[4]

Whether or not his subjects in general were equally im-

[1] Kennett's *History*, vol. iii., p. 112.
[2] Clarendon and Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 48.
[3] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. cccclxxxvi. No. 29, Dec. 9th, 1641.
[4] *Civil War Tracts*, British Museum. See also Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion.*

pressed with "the favour and love" shown them by "so good a heavenly King," mattered little; for all that went before was forgotten when, exactly two months after, on February 4th, 1642, Charles made his memorable attempt to arrest the Five Members in the House of Commons. Six days after, mortified by the failure of his design, and alarmed by the menacing demeanour of the Parliament and the tumult that was raging in London, he suddenly left Whitehall, with his wife and children and all his household, for Hampton Court.[1] Here so little preparation had been made for their reception, that Charles and the Queen had to sleep in one room with their three eldest children.[2]

The results of this fatal step—which has been aptly compared to the flight of Louis XVI. from Paris to Varennes—are too well known to be dilated on here. It was, in fact, a throwing down the gage of battle, and the roar of "Privilege of Parliament" that rose from a hundred thousand throats as Charles drove through the streets, was the blast, as it were, that heralded the Great Rebellion. The tactical error of the step had equally far-reaching results: for by this first flight in a life ever afterwards so fugitive, Charles surrendered London without striking a blow, and thus left the Roundheads in triumphant possession of the Tower, the arsenals, and all the offices and departments of state. The shout of exultation that burst from the trained bands as they marched past the deserted Palace of Whitehall, brandishing the "Protestation" on their pikes, showed that they, at any rate, fully gauged the deep significance of the King's flight.

The King's adherents, on their part also, began to grow dimly conscious of the altered position of affairs, and Colonel Lunsford, who had escorted the King and Queen to Hamp-

[1] Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion.* Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 54.
[2] Gardiner's *History of England.*

ton Court, after seeing them safely lodged in the Palace, went on with his band, two hundred strong, to Kingston, to take possession of a magazine of arms in that town. Here Lunsford and his men were visited next morning by Lord Digby, who drove over from the Palace in a coach and six to thank them in the King's name for what they had done, and to urge them to set about collecting recruits. For doing this Lord Digby was soon after attainted of treason, for "levying war;" while Lunsford was arrested by the Parliamentarians and lodged in the Tower.[1]

The King's stay at Hampton Court lasted but a few days, for on the 12th of January, overwhelmed with the shame and peril of his situation, he moved to Windsor Castle for greater security.[2] Clarendon describes in pathetic words his "sad condition, as fallen in ten days from a height and greatness that his enemies feared, to such a lowness that his own servants durst hardly avow their waiting on him."

He was back again here, however, just for one night, when conducting the Queen from Windsor to Dover, on her departure from England at the end of February. After that Hampton Court saw him no more till five years later, when he was brought by the Roundheads as a prisoner to his own Palace.[3]

[1] Heath's *Chronicle of the Civil Wars*, p. 27. See also *Clarendon.*

[2] Disraeli's *Charles I.*, vol. ii., p. 333.

[3] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. cccclxxxix. No. 19, Feb. 10th, 1642.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GREAT REBELLION. CHARLES I. A PRISONER AT HAMPTON COURT.

Hampton Court during the Civil War—The Parliament takes Possession of the Palace—Sacrilegious Profanation of the Chapel by the Puritans—The Altar, Sacred Pictures and Stained Glass torn down—Charles brought by the Army to Hampton Court—Resides here in comparative Ease and Dignity—Receives his old Adherents—Allowed to see his Children—Strictly watched by Colonel Whalley—Cromwell visits and confers with him—An Accommodation with the Army discussed—Charles's Intrigues and incurable Duplicity—His Mode of Life at this Time—His Farewell to Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe—His Forebodings of Misfortune—Ominous Rumours of his Danger of Assassination—Withdraws his Pledge not to attempt an Escape—The Guards doubled—Visit of his Daughter the Princess Elizabeth—Disturbed by the Guards in the Gallery—The Eve of Flight.

FROM this time forward to the year 1645, the tide of the Civil War rolled over the country without much affecting Hampton Court; though we may well imagine that the varying fortunes of the two contending factions must have been followed with intense interest by the inhabitants of the Palace, who probably consisted of a few score of royal officials and servants. The principle, however, on which the Parliament proceeded, of still recognizing the existence of the monarchy whilst

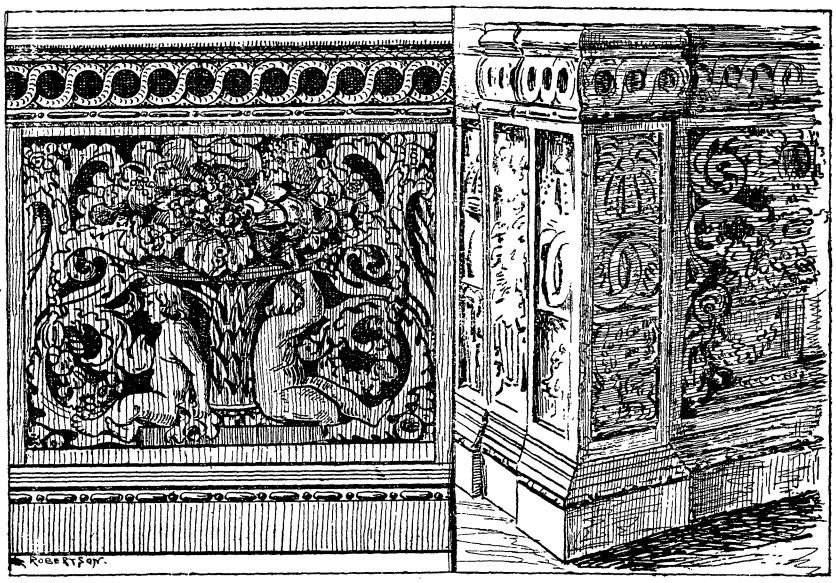
taking up arms against the monarch, probably secured them from any molestation as long as they took no active part in the struggle.

But in 1645, after the battle of Naseby, which practically decided the fate of the Royalist cause, the Parliament took possession of the Palace, setting seals on the doors of the State apartments. In their intolerant Puritan zeal to sweep away all surviving traces of what they held to be idolatrous worship, they laid a profane and sacrilegious hand on all the religious emblems and artistic decorations of the chapel. In a newspaper of the time we read the following paragraph:—

"Sir Robert Harlow gave order for the putting down and demolishing of the popish and superstitious pictures at Hampton Court, where this day the altar was taken down, and the table brought into the body of the church, the rails pulled down, and the steps levelled, and the popish pictures and superstitious images that were in the glass windows were also demolished, and order given for the new glazing them with plain glass; and among the rest, there was pulled down the picture of Christ nailed to the cross, which was placed right over the altar, and the pictures of Mary Magdalen and others weeping by the foot of the cross, and some other such idolatrous pictures were pulled down and demolished."

This order was duly executed; and notwithstanding the Restoration and the High Church revival, the windows of the chapel have never been reglazed with anything but "plain glass" to this day. Neither does the original altar appear to have been ever restored, nor the altar rails. Perhaps, however, the beautiful railings of carved oak gilded, which long remained disregarded in an old storeroom of the Palace, and which have been recently placed for public inspection in "the Horn Room," are the identical altar-rails pulled down at this time. They are, at any rate, very fine specimens of wood carving, which seem to belong to this period, and the

monogram C, surmounted by the crown imperial, points to their having been the property of King Charles. The representation in several of the panels of a sunflower in full bloom, shows that an appreciation of the beauty of this flower was not the "discovery" on the part of our modern "æsthetics," which it is claimed to be.



Altar Rails of Carved Oak, at Hampton Court.

The following year, 1646, saw Charles's flight from the besieged city of Oxford to Newark, where the Scotch were encamped, and where he surrendered himself into their hands—a confidence which they rewarded, not many months after, by selling him to the English Parliament, from whose control he was transferred to the custody of the Army. By them he was treated with much more consideration and

generosity than he had experienced at the hands of the Scotch or the Parliament, and after several removes was eventually installed, on August 24th, 1647, in his Palace of Hampton Court, which had been prepared for his reception, his goods and household servants having been transferred thither from Oxford after the surrender of that city.[1]

Here he remained for a period of some two months and a half, in a state of comparative ease and dignity, "rather as a guarded and attended prince than as a conquered and purchased captive."[2] He dined in public in the Presence Chamber with the same state and ceremony as formerly, and, when dinner was over, any gentleman who wished was admitted to kiss his hand.[3]

Among those who came was John Evelyn the diarist, who records under date October 10th, 1647: "I came to Hampton Court, where I had the honour to kisse his Majesty's hand, he being in the power of those execrable villains, who not long after murdered him."

The citizens also flocked from London in considerable numbers, as they had formerly done at the end of a Progress, when the King had been some months absent from London. All his old servants, too, had free access to him, and many cavaliers, who had done him active service in the Civil War, came to pay their respects, and were allowed to confer with him without reservation. Even his two most intimate and faithful followers, Mr. John

[1] Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 267.

[2] Colonel Hutchinson's *Memoirs*, p. 305, ed. 1846; and Clarendon. Sir Thomas Herbert's *Memoirs of the Two Last Years of the Reign of Charles I.*, p. 47, 48. He was groom of the chamber to the King, and speaks most enthusiastically of Hampton Court as "a most large and Imperial House which for beauty and grandeur is exceeded by no structure in Europe, unless it be the Escurial in Spain."

[3] The papers of Captain H. G. St. John Mildmay at Hazelgrove House, Somerset, contain a "List of Plate taken out of the Jewel-House by order from the Committee of Revenue for the Service of his Majesty at Hampton Court," dated Sept. 23rd, 1647. See 7th Report of the *Historical Commission*, p. 594.

Ashburnham and Sir John Berkeley, who had been voted delinquents by the Parliament, and who had fled beyond the seas, were permitted to return and to take up their abode within the Palace, and to be constantly about the King's person.[1]

He had also the consolation of the spiritual administrations of his own divines of the Church of England, who "could administer spiritual comfort according to the rites of that Church."

But what pleased him most was being allowed access to his children, who were then staying under the care of the Earl of Northumberland at Sion House, whither he was sometimes allowed to ride over to see them, and whence they occasionally came to stay at the Palace with him.[2] It must have been an affecting scene to behold the King, forgetting awhile the cares and troubles that beset him on all sides, amid the domestic joys which formed the one bright spot in his unfortunate career.

He found relaxation also in hunting in the park, playing at tennis, and in similar recreations.[3]

Nevertheless, he was still so far under surveillance as to have the Parliamentary Commissioners always residing with him in the Palace, as well as a guard of soldiers under Colonel Whalley, one of the officers of the Parliamentarian army, who was always in attendance on him, nominally for his protection only, but in reality more for his supervision, and with strict injunctions against his removal.

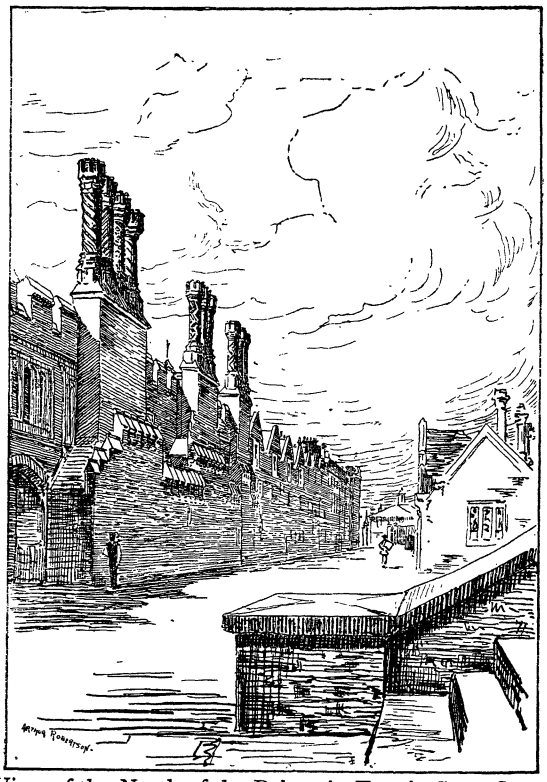
At the same time the headquarters of the army were now at Putney, a place chosen for the purpose, as being at an equal distance from the Parliament in London, and

[1] Clarendon's *History*, vol. v., p. 470. Heath's *Chronicle of the Civil Wars*, p. 147. Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I.*, p. 302.

[2] Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 267. Sir Thomas Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 49.

[3] Heath, Whitelocke, &c.

the King at Hampton Court; and from Putney came Cromwell[1] and the other superior officers to pay their respects to King Charles. It was observed that "Fairfax kissed the royal hand; but Cromwell and his son-in-law,



View of the North of the Palace in Tennis Court Lane.

Ireton, though they did not come behind the general in phrases of loyalty, seemed to decline the ceremonial."[2]

[1] Whitelock, p. 269.

[2] Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, vol. ii., p. 395; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. iii., pp. 52, 67, &c.

There can be little doubt, indeed, that the magnetic influence of royal smiles was beginning to work on the acrid austerity of the Roundhead soldiers. "The King," says Clarendon, "enjoyed himself at Hampton Court much more to his content than of late; the respects of the chief officers of the army seeming much greater than they had been. Cromwell himself came oftener, and had long conferences with him; talked with more openness than he had done, and appeared more cheerful." It is interesting to think of Charles I. and his arch-enemy Cromwell pacing the galleries, cloisters and gardens of the Palace, in close converse together, discussing the affairs of the kingdom, which had been so lately torn asunder by their dissensions. Charles had also the sagacity to try and win over Cromwell's wife, who was presented to him by his own desire, Ashburnham taking her by the hand and leading her up to Charles, who received her very graciously, and afterwards entertained her, with the wives of Ireton and Whalley, at dinner.[1]

The exact nature of the negotiations that were all this time in progress between Charles and Cromwell have not been positively ascertained. Some have maintained that Cromwell was sincerely and disinterestedly endeavouring to compose the quarrel between the King and the Parliament; while others have gone so far as to declare that Cromwell was prepared, if it should suit his personal aims to betray the popular cause, to undertake the restoration of the monarch to all his former prerogatives, on condition of receiving for himself the Earldom of Essex and a pension of £10,000 a year.

However this may be, it is certain that the question of an accommodation between Charles and the army was much discussed between them, and that the terms which

[1] Herbert's *Memoirs*, p. 49, &c.

the officers were ready to offer him were much more favourable than those of the Parliament. Had he but clearly understood his real position and frankly accepted their overtures, and could he only have brought himself to treat them with the same candour with which, it seems, they were dealing with him, there is no reason to suppose that an agreement might not have been come to, which would have led to his being once more firmly established on his throne, though of course with a much diminished prerogative.

But while Charles was negotiating with Cromwell, he was, at the same time, dallying with the rival propositions of the Parliament, vainly imagining that by intrigue and kingcraft he could succeed in playing off one party against the other, and act as arbiter between both, to his own advantage. It would be beyond the scope of our narrative to detail the many ins and outs of the negotiations—the nineteen propositions of the army, the counter propositions of the Parliament, the King's answers;[1] and the suggestions, alterations, and modifications[2] that transformed the posture of affairs from day to day.

Suffice it to say that the rough, straightforward Roundhead soldiers found out at last that Charles was utterly untrustworthy, and that while he was affecting to agree with them, he was in truth playing a double, if not a treble game—intriguing with the Scottish Commissioners for a concerted invasion of England by a numerous army in the spring, as well as bargaining with the Parliament. Accordingly they gave up in disgust all idea of an arrangement with him, and gradually ceased to come any longer to Hampton Court.

[1] For his answer to the Parliament, Sept. 9th, see *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 778.

[2] Ashburnham's *Narrative*, vol. ii., p. 98.

They were probably led to take this course not a little also by the murmurs that were beginning to be heard against them in the army, especially among the new sect of Levellers, for their conciliatory dispositions towards "the man of sin, Charles Stuart," and their unholy bargaining with the children of Satan. An impeachment was even threatened against Cromwell.

Nevertheless, an appearance of friendly feeling towards the King was still kept up by the heads of the army for some time after they had resolved to have no more to do with him. For this they have been accused, and perhaps not unjustly, of duplicity; but as Ireton himself said, "He gave us words, and we paid him in his own coin, when we found he had no real intention to the people's good, but to prevail by our factions, to regain by art what he had lost by fight."[1] With him, in fact, there was always some mental reservation that nullified the force of any compact which contained concessions to those, who, in his eyes, were nothing else but rebels in arms against their anointed sovereign. As Carlyle forcibly expresses it: "The unhappy Charles, in those final Hampton Court negotiations, shows himself as a man fatally incapable of being dealt with—a man who, once for all, could not and would not *understand;* whose thought did not in any measure represent to him the real fact of the matter; nay, worse, whose *word* did not at all represent his thought. Forsaken, then, of all but the *name* of kingship, he still, finding himself treated with outward respect as a king, fancied that he might play off party against party, and smuggle himself into his old power of deceiving both."

The cast of his mind, in fact, as well as his methods, was distinctly feminine rather than manly, and it was a

[1] Disraeli's *Charles I.*, vol. ii., p. 497. *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 305.

sort of character excessively obnoxious and irritating to the sturdy, robust, Roundhead soldiers.

Meanwhile Charles continued the same mode of life at Hampton Court as heretofore, playing tennis, riding or walking in the park, keeping up a voluminous correspondence with his wife in France, and giving audiences to visitors. Nevertheless, he seems to have begun, about this time, to have a presentiment that a crisis was impending in his affairs; and to his friends who came to him he bade a tender farewell, as though he were parting with them for a long time, if not for ever.

In the memoirs of Lady Fanshawe, wife of one of his most devoted adherents, there is a very touching account of her last interview with King Charles at this Palace.

"During the King's stay at Hampton Court," writes she, "my husband was with him, to whom he was pleased to talk much of his concerns. I went three times to pay my duty to him, both as I was the daughter of his servant and wife of his servant.[1] The last time I ever saw him, when I took my leave, I could not refrain weeping; when he had saluted me, I prayed God to preserve his Majesty with long life and happy years, he stroked me on the cheek, and said, 'Child, if God pleaseth, it shall be so; but both you and I must submit to God's will, and you know in what hands I am;' then turning to your father, he said, 'Be sure, Dick, to tell my son all that I have said, and deliver those letters to my wife; pray God bless her! I hope I shall do well;' and taking him in his arms, said, 'Thou hast ever been an honest man, and I hope God will bless thee and make thee a happy servant to my son.'" [2]

[1] She was the eldest daughter of Sir John Harrison, of Balls, who had most warmly espoused the royal cause. Her husband, Sir Richard Fanshawe, was at one time the King's Secretary at War.

[2] Lady Fanshawe's *Memoirs*, p. 66.

The tone of Charles's conversations with Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe seems to indicate that he was beginning, as we have said, to have forebodings concerning the future, and, as no progress was made in the negotiations towards an accommodation with his enemies, he could not but grow uneasy as to his position. Nor could he be indifferent to the ominous rumours current, which were frequently carried to him, that he was in danger of assassination while he remained at Hampton Court, nor to the strong hints, amounting to warnings, which he received on several sides, that it would be wise for him to secure his own safety by flight.

He had, however, given his word to his custodian, Colonel Whalley, that he would not make any attempt to escape without giving him notice and formally withdrawing his promise.

Accordingly Charles felt bound in honour before taking any step in the matter, to notify to the colonel that he wished to be held discharged from his pledge. This he did, through Ashburnham, who sought an interview with Whalley, and told him that the King would no longer consider himself bound to his engagement. Whalley asked him the reason, to which Ashburnham replied, "the multiplicity of the Scots about the Court was such, and the agitators in the army so violently set against the King, as (for ought I knew) either party might as well take him from Hampton Court."[1]

This was immediately reported by Whalley at the headquarters of the army; and as a result, Ashburnham,[2] who, it may be observed, had used very similar language to Cromwell, was next day dismissed from his post of attendant about the person of the King, and forbidden the precincts of the Palace, while the guards about his Majesty were doubled.

[1] Whalley's *Narrative to the Speaker.*
[2] Ashburnham's *Narrative*, vol. ii., p. 100.

Nevertheless, no new restraints were put upon Charles's liberty, and his children were still allowed to visit him as before, as will appear from the following letter—one of the last that Charles wrote from Hampton Court—to his daughter Elizabeth [1] :—

Hampton Court, Oct. 27th, 1647.

Dear Daughter,

This is to assure you that it is not through forgetfulness or any want of kindness, that I have not, all this time, sent for you, but for such reasons as is fitter for you to imagine (which you may easily do) than me to write; but now I hope to see you, upon Friday or Saturday next, as your brother James can more particularly tell you; to whom referring you,

I rest,

Your loving father,

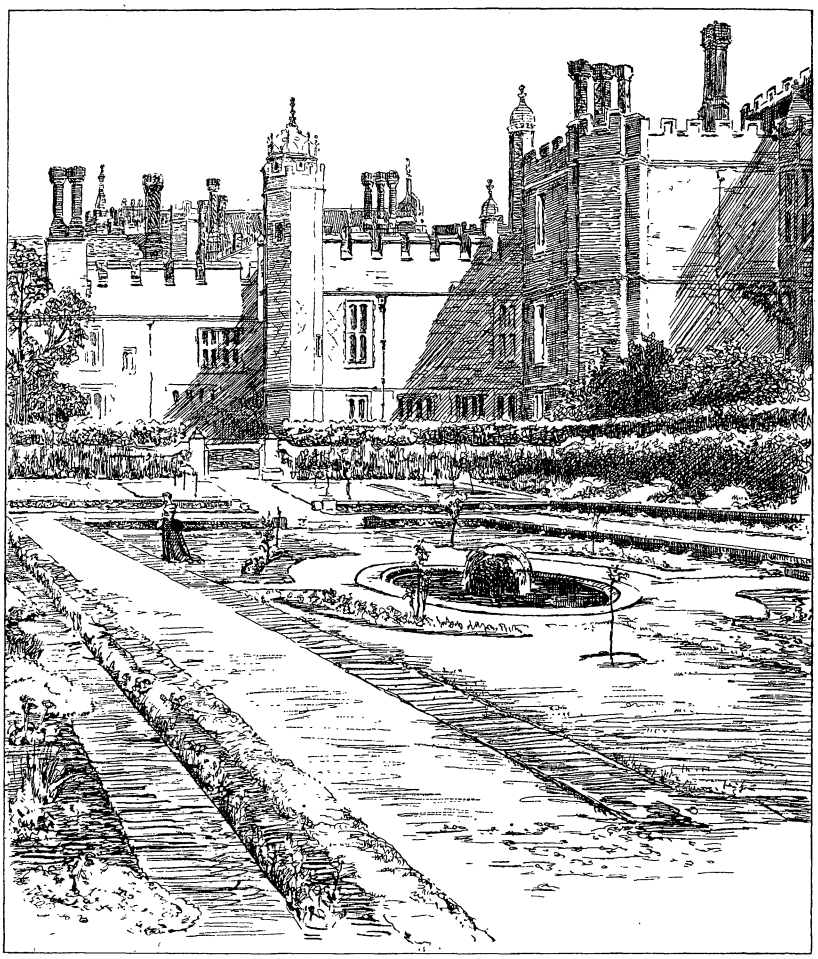
CHARLES R.

The visit of the Princess Elizabeth accordingly took place at the end of the week, and she was lodged in a chamber near the King's, opening on to the Long Gallery.

Here were stationed two sentinels, who, according to the Princess, made such a noise at night, that she could not sleep, so that Charles, perhaps with the hope that they might be removed, complained to Whalley about it. The Colonel, however, assured him that if the soldiers made any noise it was contrary to his express desire and command, and that he would "double his commands upon them, and give them as strict a charge as he could, not to disturb her Highness." This he did. Notwithstanding, a second complaint was made, when Whalley told the King that stricter commands he could not give, and that the soldiers assured him they came so gently through the gallery and made so little noise that they conceived it impossible for the Princess to hear them. However, "if his Majesty would be pleased to

[1] Ellis, *Original Letters*, 2nd series, vol. iii., p. 328.

renew his engagement," he said, "he would place the sentinels at a more remote distance." This, however, Charles refused to do. "To renew my engagements were a point of honour. You had my engagement; I will not renew it; keep your guards."



The Old Pond Garden.

CHAPTER XII.

CHARLES I.'S ESCAPE FROM HAMPTON COURT.

Charles Intrigues to Escape—Further Rumours of Designs against his Life—Ashburnham and Berkeley privately admitted to the Palace—The Plan of Escape settled with Charles—Ominous Letter from Cromwell—The King retires to his Private Chamber—His Flight from the Palace—Drops a Rare Tract—Thomason's Marvellous Bibliographic Collection—Anxiety of Colonel Whalley—Why is the King so long coming out?—The Door of King Charles's Room broken open—The King gone!—Documents found in his Room—Letter to Colonel Whalley—His Solicitude for his Works of Art—His Incapacity for appreciating his Real Position—Consternation in the Palace—Excitement in the Army—Cromwell rides over to Hampton Court—Writes to the Speaker of the House of Commons—Charles's Letters to the Parliamentary Commissioners, and to the Parliament—The Detention of the King ordered—Colonel Whalley's Account of the King's Flight—The King arrested in the Isle of Wight—Royalist Rising near Hampton Court—Strange Discovery of Skeletons in the Palace.

AFTER the events narrated in our last chapter, things went on at Hampton Court much as before, except that Charles, having now relieved himself from the obligation of his pledged word, immediately set about scheming how he should effect his escape. He sent Mr. Legge, who was now the only one of his old attendants still permitted to remain with him, to see and confer with Ashburnham, who lingered in the neighbourhood, and who himself afterwards entered into communications with Sir John Berkeley on the

subject. The result of their discussions was that a meeting between them and the King was arranged to take place one evening in the Long Gallery, to which Ashburnham and Berkeley were to gain access secretly.

In the meanwhile the rumours as to the peril he incurred in remaining at Hampton Court[1] grew so persistent that all hesitation in Charles's mind as to the wisdom of the step he was about to take was dissipated ere the time for adopting a final resolution arrived. Indeed, on the morning of the very day when the meeting was to take place, he received an anonymous letter signed only with the initials E. R., warning him against a design formed by the agitators to take away his life.

This was on the 10th of November,[2] on the afternoon of which day Berkeley and Ashburnham were let in through the back way by Colonel Legge, and ushered into the King's presence.

Ashburnham, who was the chief spirit in the enterprise, began by assuring his Majesty that he was ready to obey him in everything, but still he "did most humbly beg of him that he would be pleased to say whether really and in very deed he was afraid of his life in that place, for his going from thence seemed to them an occasion of a very great change in his affairs." His Majesty "protested to God, that he had great cause to apprehend some attempt upon his person, and did expect every hour when it should bee."[3]

Ashburnham replied that "it did not then become them to make any further inquiry, but to apply themselves to the discharge of their duties, and therefore if his Majesty would be pleased to say whither he would go, they would carry him thither, or lose themselves in the endeavour of it." The

[1] Ashburnham's *Narrative*, vol. ii., p. 111.
[2] Berkeley's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. clxiv.
[3] Ashburnham's *Narrative*, vol. ii., p. 111.

King then told them that "he had some thoughts of going out of the kingdom, but for the shortness of the time to prepare a vessel to transport him, and for the other reasons Ashburnham had sent him by Major Legge, he was resolved to go to the Isle of Wight."

The details of the plan were then settled, and Ashburnham and Berkeley withdrew to prepare for their execution on the following day.

Next morning being a Thursday, which was one of the days on which Charles wrote his letters abroad, he remained most of the day occupied in his own room. He granted an audience, however, to Colonel Whalley, who asked to see him in order to show him the following remarkable letter from Oliver Cromwell [1]:—

For my beloved cousin Colonel Whalley, at Hampton Court, These.

Putney, November, 1647.

Dear Cos. Whalley,

There are rumours abroad of some intended attempt on his Majesty's person. Therefore I pray have a care of your guards. If any such thing should be done, it would be accounted a most horrid act. . . .

Yours,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

This letter is especially interesting as lending some colour to the accusations brought against Cromwell, that not only was he aware that the King was meditating an escape and took no steps to prevent it, but that he was even fostering it by retailing the alarming rumours current—if indeed he had not himself set them afloat for that very purpose, and was, in effect, treacherously working for this end in order to entrap and ruin him.

[1] Carlyle's *Cromwell;* Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, vol. vii., p. 871.

After showing Cromwell's letter to Charles, Colonel Whalley withdrew, and the King was left alone and undisturbed to write his letters, it being a mail day, until five or six o'clock. About that hour it was his custom to come out from his bed-chamber to go to evening prayers; and half an hour after that to go to supper, when Colonel Whalley set guards about his bed-chamber, as his Majesty usually retired early.

On the day in question, accordingly, Colonel Whalley came as usual at about five o'clock into the anteroom next to the King's bed-chamber, where he found the Parliamentary Commissioners and bed-chambermen assembled, waiting for his Majesty. What then ensued had best be told in Colonel Whalley's own words, extracted from his report to the House of Commons: "I asked them," he said, "for the King; they told me he was writing letters in his bed-chamber. I waited there without mistrust till six of the clock; I then began to doubt, and told the bed-chambermen, Mr. Maule and Mr. Murray, I wondered the King was so long a-writing; they told me he had (they thought) some extraordinary occasion. Within half an hour after I went into the next room to Mr. Oudart, and told him I marvelled the King was so long a-writing. He answered, he wondered too, but withal said, the King told him he was to write letters both to the Queen and Princess of Orange, which gave me some satisfaction for the present. But my fears with the time increased, so that when it was seven of the clock, I again told Mr. Maule I exceedingly wondered the King was so long before he came out. He told me he was writing, and I replied, possibly he might be ill, therefore I thought he should do well to see, and to satisfy both myself and the House, that were in fear of him. He replied, the King had given him strict commands not to molest him, therefore durst not, besides he had bolted the door to him.

I was then extreme restless in my thoughts, lookt oft in at the key-hole to see whether I could perceive his Majesty, but could not; prest Mr. Maule to knock very oft, that I might know whether his Majesty were there or not, but all to no purpose. He still plainly told me he durst not disobey his Majesty's commands."

While these discussions were going on outside the King's room, the decisive step had already been taken some time; for as soon as the shades of the dark November evening had fallen, King Charles left his chamber accompanied only by Colonel Legge, and passing through the room called "Paradise," went by the private passage to the river-side.[1]

Here he was met by Berkeley and Ashburnham, and in their company probably crossed the river in a boat to the Surrey side, where they all took horse, and proceeded in the direction of Oatlands, and thence towards Southampton.

The evening was dark and stormy; and as Charles was going away, he dropped on the road, in the dirt, a book, which he happened to have with him, and to which the following curious history attaches. While Charles was negotiating at this Palace with the officers of the army, he wanted to refer to a certain rare tract which had been published at an early period in the contest between the King and Parliament. He accordingly requested his faithful attendants Colonel Legge and Mr. Arthur Trevor to try and see if they could not procure it for him. After applying at all the ordinary shops and booths where such things were sold, they had recourse to a certain bookseller named George Thomason, who as early as the year 1640 had conceived the idea of preserving every tract published by either side, and who was at this time collecting them and continued to do so until the year 1660, with the most extraordinary care and perseverance. He was obliged to work

[1] Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 92. See also *post*, p. 157.

out his design in secret, with the assistance of confidential servants, as he was known, or suspected to be a Royalist, and it was therefore dangerous for him to be housing treasonable literature against the Roundheads. At first they buried the volumes as they collected them, but the tracts and pamphlets issued during that stirring time amounted to at least thirty thousand pieces, and forming, as they now stand in the British Museum, no less than two thousand volumes, they soon became too numerous to be concealed in this way. "The owner, dreading that the ruling government would seize on the collection, watched the movements of the army of the Commonwealth, and carried this itinerant library in every opposite direction. Many were its removals northward or westward, but the danger became so great, and the collection so bulky, that he had at one time an intention to pass them over into Holland, but feared to trust his treasures to the waves. He at length determined to place them in his warehouses in the form of tables round the room, covered with canvas. It is evident that the loyalty of the man had rendered him a suspected person, for he was once dragged from his bed and imprisoned for seven weeks, during which time, however, the collection suffered no interruption, nor was the secret betrayed."[1]

To this man it was that the King's attendants, who secretly heard of his wonderful bibliographical enterprise, had recourse. In a memorandum that Thomason afterwards wrote in the very volume which he lent to the King, he tells us that he assured them that whatever the King wanted was at his Majesty's disposal, but that he was very loth to part with "a limb of his collection," as it were, which if it were lost it would be impossible to replace. This answer they took back to the King at Hampton Court,

[1] Disraeli's *Amenities of Literature*, vol. iii., p. 305.

whereupon they were ordered to go to him again, and tell him *upon the word of a King* (to use the King's own expression) that they would safely return it," whereupon he immediately sent it to his Majesty. Perhaps it was on account of his kingly pledge that Charles carried it with him in his own hand when escaping from Hampton Court; at any rate, when he dropped it in the mud, he gave it in charge to two of his attendants, with the most solemn command, as they would answer for it another day, speedily and safely to restore it to the owner, and at the same time, in his name, to desire Thomason to go on with the collection he had begun.

This injunction they scrupulously obeyed, and the precious little quarto, thus sanctified in the eyes of all true Cavaliers, and still bearing "the honours of its mischance," in the deep stains of mud upon its leaves, is now safely lodged, after many vicissitudes, with the rest of Thomason's extraordinary and very valuable collection, on the shelves of the British Museum. The volume in question is numbered 100. It contains several tracts bound together, one of which bears the significant title, "The Broken Heart," written by Shawe, a Puritan divine. The collection having belonged to George III., is usually known by the name of the "King's Tracts."

To resume our narrative. In the meanwhile Colonel Whalley's anxiety as to the King increasing, he went at about eight o'clock to Mr. Smithsby, Keeper of the Privy Lodgings, desiring him to go along with him the back way, through the Privy Garden, to the Privy Stairs, where he had sentinels stationed. To resume Whalley's narrative: "We went up the stairs, and from chamber to chamber, till we came to the next chamber to his Majesty's bed-chamber, where we saw his Majesty's cloak lying on the midst of the floor, which much amazed me. I went presently back to the Com-

missioners and bed-chambermen, acquainting them with it, and therefore desired Mr. Maule again to see whether his Majesty was in his bed-chamber or not; he again told me he durst not. I replied, that I would then command him, and that in the name of the Parliament, and therefore desired him to go along with me. He desired I would speak to the Commissioners to go along with us. I did. We all went. When we came into the room next the King's bed-chamber, I moved Mr. Maule to go in. He said he would not, except I would stand at the door. I promised I would, and did. Mr. Maule immediately came out, and said, the King was gone. We all then went in, and one of the Commissioners said, 'It may be the King is in his closet.' Mr. Maule presently replied and said he was gone. I then, being in a passion, told Mr. Maule, I thought he was accessory to his going; for that afternoon he was come from London, it being a rare thing for him to be from Court. I know not that he hath been two nights away since I came to wait upon his Majesty."

When there was no longer any doubt that the King had fled, the greatest excitement prevailed throughout the Palace, and Whalley at once sent parties of horse and foot to search the lodge in the park and Ashburnham's house at Ditton, while he forwarded despatches to Fairfax and Cromwell at the headquarters at Putney, to apprise them of what had happened.

On the King's table he found three letters—one addressed to the Parliamentary Commissioners, one to be communicated to both Houses of Parliament, and another to himself, which was as follows :—

Hampton Court, 11 November, 1647.

COLONEL WHALEY,

I have been so civilly used by you and Major Huntingdon, that I cannot but by this parting farewell acknowledge it under

my hand; as also to desire the continuance of your courtesie, by your protecting of my household stuffe and moveables of all sorts, which I leave behind me in this house, that they be neither spoiled or embesled: only there are three pictures here which are not mine, that I desire you to restore; to wit, my wives picture in blew, sitting in a chaire, you must send to Mistris Kirke [one of the Queen's dressers]; my eldest daughter's picture, copied by Belcam, to the Countess of Anglesey, and my Lady Stannop's picture to Cary Rawley [Carew Raleigh—Sir Walter's son]. There is a fourth which I had almost forgot, it is the original of my eldest daughter (it hangs in this Chamber over the board next to the chimney), which you must send to Lady Aubigny. So, being confident that you wish my preservation and restitution, I rest,

Your friend,
CHARLES R.

P.S.—I assure you it was not the letter you shewed me to-day, that made me take this resolution, nor any advertisement of that kinde. But I confess that I am loath to be made a close prisoner, under pretence of securing my life. I had almost forgot to desire you to send the black grew bitch to the Duke of Richmond.

This letter, while showing how ready Charles was to acknowledge any little attention or kindness, betrays at the same time how constitutionally impossible it was for him to understand *facts*, and to appreciate his real position. It is almost pathetic to note the way in which he writes of his much cherished works of art and *articles de vertu* (under the designation "household stuffe and moveables"), as if they were in truth still his, and as if he would shortly re-enter into possession of them all again.

Everyone else, of course, appreciated the deep significance of the step Charles had chosen to take; and the excitement both in London and at the headquarters of the army at Putney, when the news became known, was very great. Among the chief officers of the army the

feeling was not unmingled with one of gratification that things had at last been brought to a crisis. Cromwell, immediately on receiving the intelligence, rode over post-haste to Hampton Court to learn the particulars for himself; and, as soon as he had conferred with Whalley, sat down and indited the following letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons:—

SIR,

. . . . Majesty withdrawn himself at nine o'clock.

The manner is variously reported; and I will say of it at present but that his Majesty was expected to supper, when the Commissioners and Colonel Whalley missed him; upon which they entered the room. They found his Majesty had left his cloak behind him in the gallery in the private way. He passed, by the backstairs and vault, towards the waterside.

He left some letters upon the table, in his withdrawing room, of his own handwriting; whereof one was to the Commissioners of Parl. attending him, to be communicated to both houses, and is here enclosed.

OLIVER CROMWELL.[1]

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, these.
Hampton Court, Twelve at Night,
11th Nov. 1647.

The tone in which Cromwell speaks of Charles's escape, taken with the sending of the warning letter to Whalley, confirms the suspicion that he was not unprepared for what occurred, if, indeed, he had not connived at it and tried to bring it about. Certain it is that the continued residence of the King at Hampton Court had begun to grow very embarrassing to him, and Marvell the poet, his friend and panegyrist, actually commends him for his cleverness in entrapping Charles into this injudicious act—

[1] Rushworth, vol. vii., p. 871. See also *Commons Journals*, vol. v., p. 356.

And Hampton shows what part
He had of wiser art,
When, twining subtle fears with hope,
He wove a net of such a scope,
That Charles himself might chase
To Carisbrook's narrow case.

Charles's letter to the Parliamentary Commissioners was addressed:

TO THE LORD MOUNTAGUE OF BOUGHTON.

MOUNTAGUE,

First, I do hereby give you and the rest of your fellows thanks, for the civilities and good conversations that I have had from you.

Next, I command you to send this my message, which you will find on the table, to the two Houses of Parliament; and likewise to give a copy of it to Colonel Whalley, to be sent to the General. Likewise I desire you to send all my saddle horses to the Duke of York.

For what concerns the resolution that I have taken, my Declaratory Message says so much, that I refer you to it; and so I rest

Your assured friend,

C. R.[1]

His Letter or Declaration to the Parliament, which Cromwell enclosed to the Speaker, was a somewhat lengthy and elaborate document, vindicating the step he was taking, and expatiating on the position of affairs. As it has often been printed in full, we now give but a few extracts here. It began thus:—

Liberty being that which in all time hath been, but especially now is the common Theame and Desire of all men; common Reason shewes that Kings, lesse then any, should endure Captivity; and yet call God and the World to Witnesse, with what

[1] Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 148; and *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 786.

Patience I have endured a tedious Restraint: which, so long as I had any hopes, that this sort of my suffering, might conduce to the peace of my kingdomes, or the hindering of more effusion of blood, I did willingly undergoe: but now finding by too certain proofes, that this my continued Patience, would not only turne to my Personall Ruine, but likewise bee of much more prejudice, then furtherance, to the Publike good; I thought I was bound, as well by Naturall as Politicall Obligations to seek my safety, by retiring my selfe, for some time, from the public view both of my Friends and Enemies: And I appeale to all indifferent Men, to judge, if I have not just cause, to free myselfe from the hands of those, who change their Principles with their Condition, and who are not ashamed openly to intend the Destruction of the Nobility, by taking away their Negative voice; and with whom the Levellers' Doctrine, is rather countenanced then punished; and as for their intentions to my Person; their changing, and putting more strict Guards upon Me, with the discharging most of all those Servants of mine, who formerly they willingly admitted to wait upon me, does sufficiently declare: Nor would I have this my retirement mis-interpreted; for I shall earnestly and uncessantly endeavour the settling of a safe and well-grounded Peace, wherever I am, or shall be.

Much more followed in the same strain, and it ended thus:—

To conclude let Mee be heard with freedom, honour, and safelie; and I shall instantly breake through this Cloud of Retirement, and show My Selfe Really to be *Pater Patriæ.*

Hampton Court, 11 Novemb. 1647.

The letter was endorsed—

For the Speaker of the Lords *pro tempore,* to be communicated unto the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of England at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland, and to all my other subjects of what degree, condition, or calling whatsoever.

The whole document was in truth an appeal to public opinion against the usage to which he had been subjected by the Parliament and the army, and it shows how confident Charles seems to have been that he would be able to retreat to some place of secrecy, whence he might begin, in safety, once more bargaining with, and at the same time intriguing against, his enemies.[1]

These documents, together with Cromwell's own letter to the Speaker, were read when the two Houses met next day —Friday, November 12th—and measures were at once taken to prevent the King's flight to foreign parts by ordering all the ports to be closed and embargo to be laid upon all ships; while it was declared to be an offence punishable with loss of estate and life, for anyone to detain the King's person, and not to reveal the fact to both Houses of Parliament.[2]

The House of Commons met again on Saturday the 13th, when "Colonel Whalley was called in and gave a particular relation of all the circumstances of the King's going away from Hampton Court." He also handed in the warning letter from Cromwell, which he had shown to Charles. The House then ordered "that Colonel Whalley do put in writing the said relation, and set his hand to it; and that he do leave a copy of the said letter from Lieutenant-General Cromwell."

Whalley accordingly drew up and presented to the House "A More Full Relation of the manner and circumstances of His Majesties departure from Hampton Court," the document from which we have largely quoted above.[3] In it he vindicates himself against any blame for the King's going away ("for I cannot term it an escape," he says, "be-

[1] *Parliamentary History of England*, vol. xvi., p. 324.
[2] *Commons' Journals*, vol. v., p. 358.
[3] It is reprinted in full in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, lib. ix., p. 374.

cause he never was in custody as a prisoner"), by laying stress on the fact that the most eminent officers in the army all agreed that he "could no more keep the King if he had a mind to go than a bird in a pound. I was not to restrain him from his liberty of walking, so that he might have gone whither he had pleased; neither was I to hinder him from his privacy in his chamber, or any other part of the House, which give him an absolute freedom to go away at pleasure. The House is vast, hath 1,500 rooms, as I am informed, in it, and would require a troop of Horse upon perpetual duty to guard all the outgoings. So that all that could be expected from me, was to be as vigilant over the King as I could in the daytime; and when after Supper he was retired into his Bed-chamber, to set sentinels about him, which I constantly performed, as is well known to the Commissioners and others."

Whalley's account of what occurred is undoubtedly the most authentic we have; but it is curious to note that the facts are given somewhat diversely by the various other authorities. Even Cromwell's letter to the Parliament, written on the spot a few hours after the escape and after conferring with Whalley, differs, at any rate in some details, from the information furnished by Whalley himself to the Parliament—notably in saying that his Majesty had "withdrawn himself at nine o'clock," when it is perfectly clear that he must have left the Palace some hours before that. Then we find that the Speaker is reported to have told the House of Commons the morning after he received Cromwell's letter, that the letter gave information "that the King went last night, with nine horses, over Kingston Bridge."[1] While Clarendon, in his "History of the Rebellion," declares that Charles's escape was not discovered till the following morning, an error so palpable and gross that it is impossible to

[1] *Parliamentary History*, vol. iii., p. 788.

conceive how, with the very smallest care, he could have fallen into it. When we add that in the original manuscript he had positively written that the escape took place "about the beginning of September," we may judge what reliance is to be placed on his ungenerous strictures upon Ashburnham's conduct and his unjustifiable insinuations against his loyalty.

Clarendon may have had more warrant, however, for saying that "they discovered the treading of horses at a back door of the garden, into which his Majesty had a passage out of his chamber, and it is true that way he went, having appointed his horse to be there ready at an hour." For though the simplest and safest way for the fugitives to make good their escape, would seem to have been at once to put the river between them and their possible pursuers, by crossing in a boat to the Surrey side of the Thames,[1] where they could have mounted their horses and made their way through West Molesey to Oatlands, it is not certain that they may have taken horse on the Middlesex side and ridden along the towing-path to Hampton, and thence to Oatlands over Walton bridge. This supposition derives some colour from a paragraph in a newspaper published a week after the event, which we subjoin as a specimen of the journalism of the day.

[1] Kennett, in his *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 155, explicitly says that "the King in disguise went from his lodging, through a door into the Park, and taking a boat there laid for him, he crossed over to Thames Ditton, where Sir John Berkeley, Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. Legge were placed with horses ready to escape;" but he gives no authority. Heath in his *Chronicle of the Civil Wars*, p. 148, says: "Horses being therefore laid ready on the other side of the water, the King leaves his chamber, November 11 (in a very dark and tempestuous night) with his cloak spread on the floor thereof, and by the backstayrs descends to the vault, and so over the Thames to his company." While Sir Thomas Herbert (p. 53), his groom of the bed-chamber, who was in constant attendance on him during the last two years of his life, says they "passed through a private door into the Park, where no Centinel was, and at Thames Ditton crossed the River."

MERCURIUS ANTI-PRAGMATICUS.

From Thursday, Nov. 11th, to Thursday, Nov. 18th, 1647.

AN EXACT AND PERFECT RELATION OF HIS MAJESTIES PRIVATE DEPARTURE FROM HAMPTON COURT, THE ELEVENTH OF NOVEMBER AT FIVE OF THE CLOCK IN THE AFTERNOONE, RECEIVED FROM THE MOUTH OF SIR JOHN COOKE.

His Majesty, the day before his departure, was noted not to look with so cheerfull a countenance as he was wont; to be somewhat heavie and pensive, and on the day he departed, about two of the clock in the afternoone, six men in different habits, leading in their hands six lusty horses, were ferried over from Ditton to Hampton Court, and were seene to take an hill neer adjacent to his Majesty.

From Oatlands, as we have said, Charles and his companions made their way to the Isle of Wight, and at the very time that the Commons were hearing Whalley's narrative of his escape from the Palace, he had already surrendered himself to Colonel Hammond, the Governor of the Island, and was lodged in Carisbrook Castle as a prisoner of State, though he was still treated with some deference and respect.

While Charles was still confined at Carisbrook, there broke out the Second Civil War, a memorable episode of which was the Royalist rising, that took place at Kingston-on-Thames, under the Earl of Holland, at the beginning of the month of July, 1648. The mustering of their force of some six hundred horse, not a mile from Hampton Court, doubtless excited a deep interest in the Palace, which must have been intensified when Holland was gallantly joined in his rash enterprise by the young Duke of Buckingham and his brother, Lord Francis Villiers, "a youth," as Clarendon tells us, "of rare beauty and comeliness of person," only eighteen years of age. After they had been in the town about two days, they all advanced towards Reigate, but were compelled to retreat thence upon Kingston again,

where their last skirmish occurred in the lane between the town and Surbiton Common.[1] "Here," says Aubrey, "was slain the beautiful Francis Villiers, at an elm in the hedge of the east side of the lane, where his horse being killed under him, he turned his back to the elm, and fought most valiantly with half-a-dozen. The enemy, coming on the other side of the hedge, pushed off his helmet, and killed him, July 7th, 1648, about six or seven o'clock in the afternoon."

With the fate of this gallant young Cavalier is connected a story about Hampton Court, which we ought perhaps to narrate here, though we cannot pretend to give it the same credence, or attach the same significance to it, as would the believers in supernatural occurrences and spiritual visitations.

It seems that now some seventeen years ago, there dwelt in one of the suites of private apartments on the west side of the Fountain Court, a certain Lady — —, who had, for several years, assured her friends that she was frequently conscious of the presence in her rooms of two invisible beings; and that she was greatly disturbed by the mysterious sounds of rapping that emanated from them in various quarters of her apartments. So convinced, indeed, was Lady — — of the genuineness of her weird and unearthly visitants, that she addressed a formal complaint to the Lord Chamberlain on the subject. His lordship, however, answered, so the story goes, that "he must decline to move in the matter, as it was not one that fell within the purview of his department;" but he referred her ladyship to Her Majesty's Board of Works. To that august and omniscient body she accordingly had recourse; but, in reply to her requisition, was informed, so it is said, that "the Board" declined to interfere in the matter, on the ground that "there

[1] Whitelocke's *Memorials*, 317, 318, 320; Lord's *Journals*, 367; *Commons' Journal*, 35; Aubrey's *History of Surrey*, vol. i., p. 46.

were no funds at their disposal" for any such purpose, and that the jurisdiction of the First Commissioner did not extend to the Spirit World.

There for a time the matter rested, the two departments still maintaining their attitude of sceptical and masterly inactivity, and Lady — — still complaining that her rooms were haunted, and inveighing bitterly against the incredulity and apathy of "that tiresome Board of Works."

At last, however, a few years after, on the 2nd of November, 1871, some workmen, while excavating in the cloister of the Fountain Court, nearly opposite Lady — —'s door, for the purpose of carrying out the new system of drainage, came upon two perfect human skeletons, about two feet below the level of the pavement. They were the remains of two full-grown men, and from the position in which they were found, it was evident that they had been hastily buried, or rather, perhaps, thrust beneath the surface of the ground.

No satisfactory explanation has ever yet been offered as to their history. It was suggested, at the time of their discovery, that they might be the remains of Lord Francis Villiers and some other cavalier,[1] ignominiously interred here by the Roundheads after their deaths in the skirmish; and this conjecture seemed to derive some probability from Mr. G. A. Sala having introduced into his historical novel, "Captain Dangerous," an episode of Lord Francis and a "Mr. Greenville" being taken prisoners at Kingston, instead of being slain there, and of their being then brought to Hampton Court, and shot in one of the court-yards of the Palace—an incident for which it was naturally assumed that Mr. Sala must have had good historic warrant. This, however, did not prove to be the case, for Mr. Sala wrote to the "Times"[2] to say that the whole scene was entirely

[1] See *The Times*, Nov. 4th, *et seq.*, 1871. Also *Notes and Queries.*
[2] Nov., 1871.

an imaginative one on his part. And when it was further pointed out that the evidence of history left no doubt that the two young Cavaliers were really killed in the skirmish on the spot, and that the body of Lord Francis Villiers was buried, after the Restoration, in Westminster Abbey, where his tomb may still be seen, this theory fell completely to the ground.

It is not likely, indeed, that history will ever now reveal the identity of these two skeletons; but the condition in which they were found seemed to indicate that they had been interred some two hundred and fifty years, and they may, therefore, be assigned with some probability to the period of the Great Rebellion.

To this, however, it has been objected that if they had occupied the same position when William III. built the Fountain Court, they could not fail to have been disturbed during the progress of the works. But this assumption was made by persons not familiar with the topographical history of the Palace. For Wren's building, at the point where the bones were found, is little more than a screen, extending only to the first floor, to mask the original Tudor frontage of this court, which still exists behind it.

Consequently, it is not unlikely that the surface on which this side of the quadrangle was erected, was not disturbed to any depth, and that the pavement, under which the discovery was made, was laid down on the level ground of the old cloister, the bodies remaining untouched below.

If this be so, it is not impossible that they were the remains of two unfortunate victims of some Roundhead villainy, secretly and hurriedly interred beneath the west cloister of the old "Cloyster Greene Courte." (See *Plan of the Palace*, page 1.)

However this may be, the discovery quite set at rest in the mind of Lady — — all doubts as to the origin of the

mysterious beings, and the weird sounds that had haunted her apartments, and she triumphantly exclaimed: "Just like that stupid Board of Works! Why, of course, those are the two wretched men, who have been worrying me all these years, and the Board never found it out!" Whether, on the bodies receiving Christian burial at Hampton Church, the supernatural manifestations thereafter ceased, the story does not record.

To return to Charles I. After his detention at Carisbrook Castle, he never set eyes on Hampton Court again; but about a year after was moved from the Isle of Wight to London, soon to take his trial in Westminster Hall.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COMMONWEALTH. HAMPTON COURT FOR SALE.

"The late Charles Stuart's" Property to be Surveyed, Valued, and Sold—Trustees appointed for the Purpose—Inventory of Goods, Furniture, and Works of Art at Hampton Court—The Great Three Years' Sale—Appraisement of the Splendid Tapestries—Insignificant Prices for the great Pictures—The Furniture and Antiquities—Survey of the Manor of Hampton Court—Valuation of the Parks—All the King's Houses and Parks to be Sold—Hampton Court to be exempted from the Sale—Return of Cromwell to London—The Palace prepared for him and his Family—Hampton Court to be Sold—The Vote reversed: Not to be Sold—Reversed again: To be Sold—Reversed once more: Not to be Sold—Reversed yet again: To be Sold—Another Resolve: Hampton Court offered to Oliver Cromwell—He refuses it—The Manor and Parks sold—Bought back again for Cromwell—He takes Possession of the Palace.

CHARLES I.'s head had no sooner rolled on the scaffold at Whitehall, than the Parliament at once proceeded to deal with all the property of "the late Charles Stuart," directing inventories to be taken of all his goods and chattels, and surveys to be made of his lands, houses, and palaces.[1]

This was done with a view to their being forthwith turned into money; and to effect this object in regard to the personal property of the Royal Family, a bill was almost im-

[1] Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*. The order is dated March 23rd, 1649.

mediately introduced into Parliament setting forth that :[1] "Whereas the goods and personal estate heretofore belonging to the late King Charles, and to his wife and eldest son, have been, and are justly forfeited by them, for their several delinquencies, the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, taking the premises into their serious consideration, have thought fit and resolved, that the said goods and personal estate, heretofore belonging to the persons above named, and to every and any of them, shall be inventoried and appraised, and shall also be sold, except such parcels thereof as shall be found necessary to be reserved for the uses of State. Be it therefore enacted that John Humphreys, John Belchamp,[2] &c., shall be and are hereby constituted and appointed Trustees for the enquiring out, inventorying, appraizing, and securing of the said goods and personal estate, to repair to any and every house, and to make perfect inventory..... And whereas divers of the said goods and premises are of such nature, as that though by reason of their rarity or antiquity, they may yield very great prices in foreign parts, where such things are much valued, yet for particular men's use in England they would be accounted little worth, and so yield no considerable price, if they should be forthwithe sold here it is further enacted and provided, that for such particulars" the trustees might treat and agree with foreign merchants and adventurers.

It was further decreed that the proceeds of the sale should be devoted, in the first instance, to the payment of the King's and Queen's debts.

The bill was passed on July 4th, 1649, and the valuers at once set themselves to work to prepare a most full and ample

[1] Scobell's *Collection of Acts and Ordinances*, 1649, vol. ii., chap. xli., p. 46.

[2] Belchamp was an artist employed by Charles I., and his opinion would therefore have been useful as to the value of the pictures.

inventory, taking account of all the furniture, pictures, tapestry, carpets, plate, jewels, utensils, and movables of all sorts to be found in each palace. A contemporary copy of the inventory, if it be not the original, is still preserved among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum, making an enormous folio volume of some thousand pages, about seventy-six of which are filled with a list of "Goods Viewed and Appraised att Hampton Court, in the custody of Wm. Smithsbie, Esq., Wardrobe Keeper, October 5th, 1649."[1] Attached to the entry of each lot is its estimated worth, and the price for which it was eventually sold, with the name of the purchaser. The sale, which began in the winter of 1649-50, was the most gigantic on record, and lasted on and off for nearly three years. It is interesting to observe, in noting the valuations set upon the various lots, how different was the relative estimate of such things in those days as compared with our own times.

Prominent among the articles of value were the splendid tapestries, which had belonged to Wolsey and Henry VIII., and which were appraised at a rate such as would be thought exorbitant even in our own day, when such extravagant prices are given for articles of this sort. Thus the famous "Ten pieces of Arras hangings of the Story of Abraham," which we described in our first volume,[2] containing 826 yards, were valued at £10 a yard, that is, £8,260; "ten pieces of rich arras of Josuah, at £3,399; nine pieces of Tobias, at £3,409; nine pieces of rich arras of St. Paule, at £3,065; and ten pieces of Julius Cæsar, at £5,019; and many others on a similar scale.

Whether they would have found bidders, however, at these prices, we cannot say, for the tapestries just mentioned were never offered for sale; and, instead of the names

[1] *Harleian MSS.*, No. 4898, folio 238.

[2] Page 239.

of purchasers, we find such notes subjoined to the entries as "Now in the use of the Lord Protector;" "In his Highness Service att Hampton Court;" "In his Highness Service."

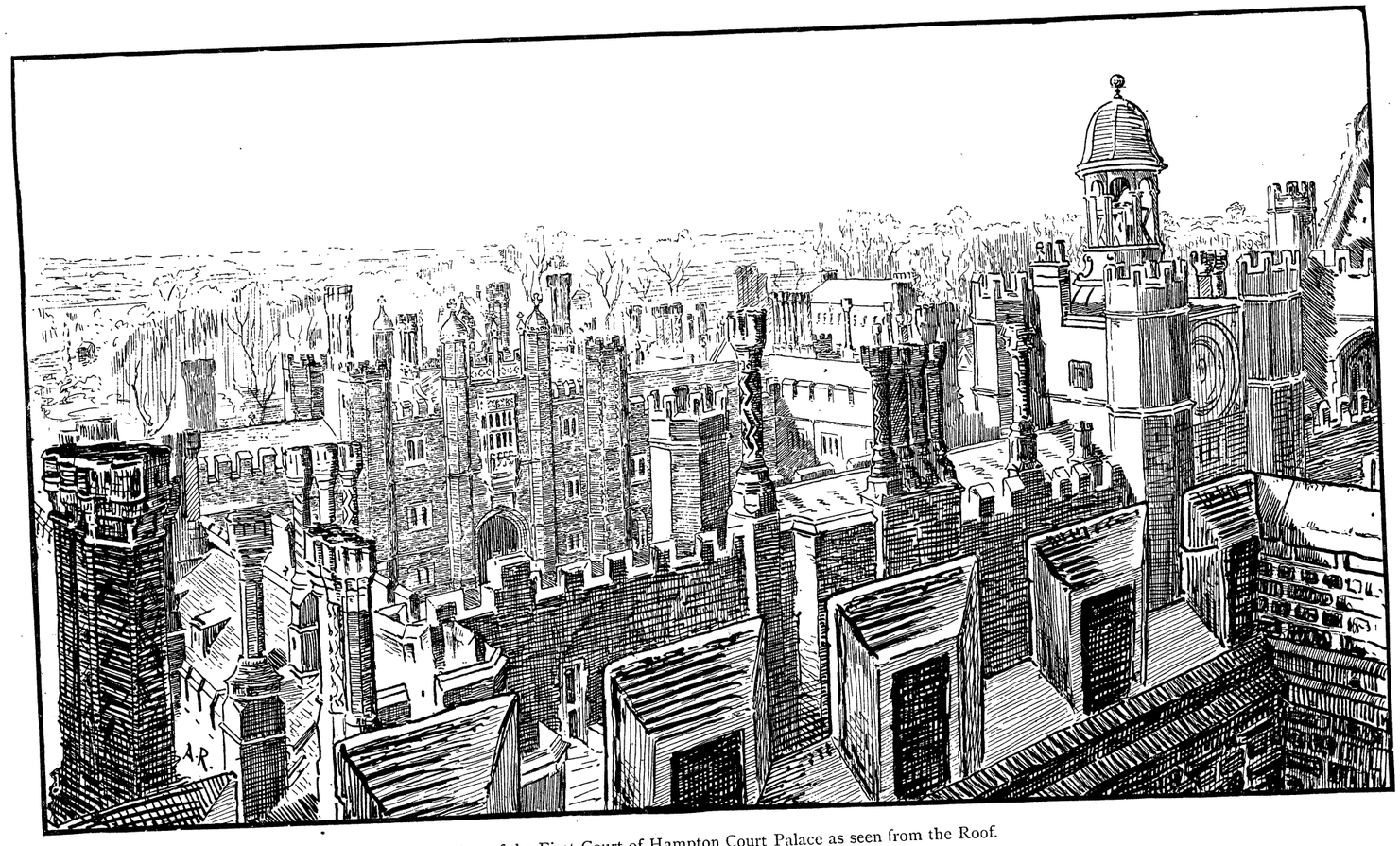
The high values placed on the tapestries contrast markedly with those assigned to some of the finest pictures in the collection. Thus the great picture of Charles I. on a brown horse, recently acquired by the National Gallery at the cost of £11,000, was valued at only £200; the Venus del Pardo, one of the finest works of Titian, now at Madrid, fetched only £600; Raphael's famous Cartoons were valued at £300; and Mantegna's "Triumph of Julius Cæsar," one of the most precious treasures of the English Crown, at only £1,000!

These last two lots, however, were not disposed of, but were reserved, by order of the Council of State, together with Titian's "Herodias with the Head of John the Baptist," valued at £150 and other pieces, for the decoration of the Palace, which was soon after occupied by Cromwell.

The pictures at Hampton Court numbered altogether 332, and were valued at £4,675 16*s.* 6*d.*

There was, in addition, a great deal of splendid furniture, some of which had belonged to Cardinal Wolsey, such as beds, chairs, canopies, church robes, chests, instruments of music, looking-glasses, and also many antiquities and curiosities, the description and prices of which sound most tantalizing to the ears of modern connoisseurs. Thus Cardinal Wolsey's looking-glass, surmounted with his arms, went for £5; Henry VIII.'s cane for 5*s.*; his hawking glass was valued at a shilling, "but 2*s.* was bid for it;" his gloves, valued at 6*d.*, went for 1*s.*; "six comb-cases, which were Henry y^e^ 8^ths^," sold for 7*s.*

In the meanwhile, ere the valuing and inventorying of the personal effects of the King had been proceeded with



View of the First Court of Hampton Court Palace as seen from the Roof.

far, an Act was passed, on the 16th July, 1649,[1] declaring that "forasmuch as the Parliament, finding the office of a King in this nation to have been unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous, hath utterly abolished the said kingly office;" therefore be it enacted that all "honors, manors, castles, houses, messuages, chases, parks, and lands, and all tenements and hereditaments, royalties, privileges, franchises, immunities, and appurtenances," belonging to the late King should be surveyed, valued, and sold for the benefit of the Commonwealth.

In view of this a rough survey of the Manor of Hampton Court[2] was accordingly forthwith made, and laid on the table of the House of Commons, being afterwards elaborated into a more exhaustive one, which was not completed until April, 1653. As the latter survey affords a great deal of information on the state and condition of Hampton Court and its parks and gardens at this time, and contains many interesting particulars relating to the topography of the Palace, we have printed it in full in the Appendix.[3]

Of the Palace a very detailed description is given, and also of the courts and yards between and amongst the buildings, the materials of which, "and of all such things as are valluable upon any part of the several parcells of ground," the surveyors reckoned "to be worth upon the place (over and above demolishing charges) £7,777 13*s.* 5*d.*" "The Ground and Soyle aforesayd," added they, "(when it shall be cleared of the sayd buildings, or layd for conveniency to several pts. thereof) will be worth yearly £36."

The acreage and valuation of the parks were as follows: The House Park, 363 acres, £243 a year; Hampton Court Course, 144 acres, £107 a year; The Hare-Warren, 380 acres, £80 a year; Middle Park, 370 acres, £225 a year;

[1] Scobell, chap. xlii., p. 51.
[2] In the Record Office, dated 1649.
[3] Appendix A. There are also subsidiary surveys relating chiefly to outlying meadows and other lands of the manor.

and Bushey Park, divided into The Old Park, 183 acres, £102 a year; The New Park Part, 23 acres, £23 15*s.*; and Other Part, 144 acres, £115. Various smaller enclosures were likewise surveyed and valued, as well as the trees, buildings, fixtures, &c., on the land. The deer, of which there were 199 in the House Park, 70 in the Middle Park, and 29 in Bushey Park, were valued at £1 per head, that is £298. Altogether, the total of the annual values amounted to £1,204, and the total of the gross values to £10,765 19*s.* 9*d.*

From the way in which the several portions of Hampton Court are valued separately, it would appear that it was contemplated to divide it into lots and sell it to various bidders, with a view perhaps of destroying its palatial character and aspect, if indeed the expression "when it shall be cleared of the sayd buildings," does not imply that it was intended to obliterate all traces of its royal associations by demolishing the palace entirely.

The Council of State,[1] however, advised that Hampton Court, together with Whitehall, Westminster, and a few other palaces, should be excepted from the sale and "be kept for the public use of the Commonwealth," and an exempting clause was accordingly inserted in the Bill.

A similar exception was made in regard to some of the furniture and movables of utility in this Palace, as distinguished from works of art and curiosity; for in the following month of April the Council of State gave an order that "the hangings and carpets, which were at Hampton Court when the Committee was there, were to be reserved to the use of the Commonwealth."[2]

For the next year or two, however, no suitable purpose

[1] The Council of State consisted of Ludlow, Lord Fairfax, and others. They were at this palace when the news of the battle of Dunbar reached London.—Ludlow's *Memoirs*, p. 329.

State Papers, Domestic, Commonwealth, vol. i. No. 29, May 24th, 1649, and vol. ii. No. 91, Aug. 31st, 1649.

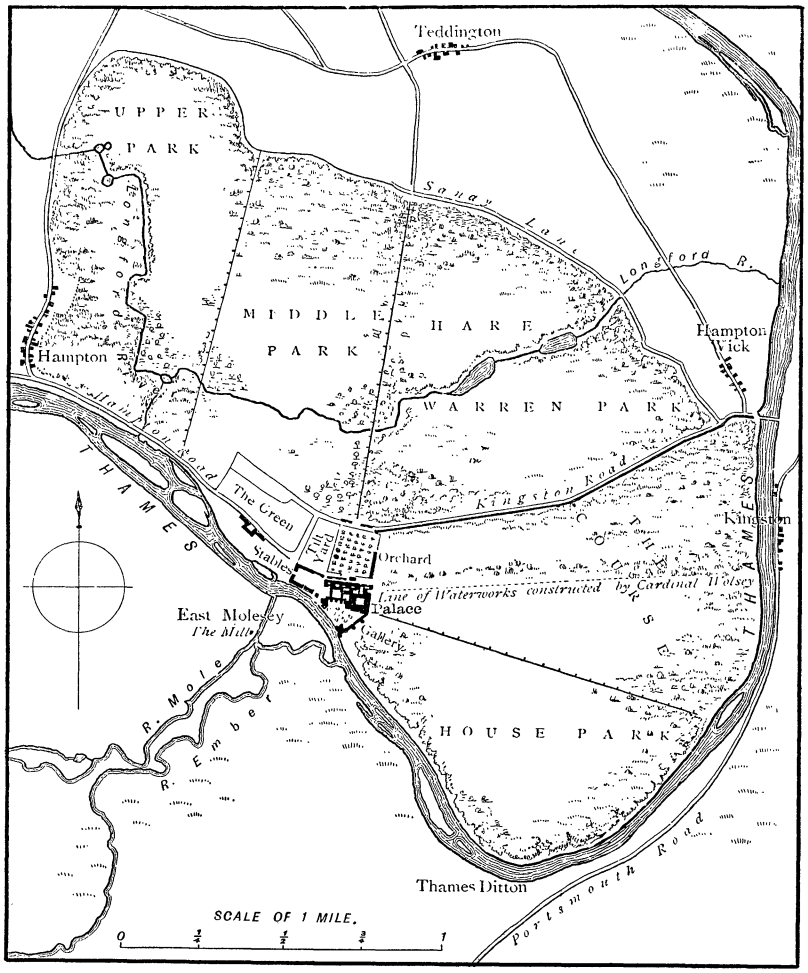
[2] *State Papers, Domestic*, anno 1650, vol. ix., No. 38.



The Arrival of Charles II *and* Catherine of Braganza *at Hampton Court.*

May 29th 1662.

Facsimile from a contemporary Etching by Dirk Stoop.



Map of the Domain and Parks of Hampton Court.

was found, to which the Palace or its furniture could be devoted, and the many stirring events that were taking place in the three kingdoms—the battles of Rathmines, Dunbar, and Worcester, and the thrilling escape of Charles II.—prevented the question from being much considered. But with the return of Cromwell and his victorious army southwards, it occurred to the Council of State that Hampton Court would be a convenient place for him to retire to, as he seems to have taken a liking to the locality, and a suite of apartments were accordingly prepared for him and his family at the public expense. Here, therefore, after a triumphant procession in his state carriage through London, where he received a most enthusiastic welcome from the citizens, and was presented with addresses of congratulation from the Parliament and City Corporation, he arrived on the evening of the 12th of October, 1651.[1]

It is curious to think of Cromwell thus installing himself in the very Palace which, a few years previous, had been the scene of his intimate conferences with Charles I., and in which he had probably first cast an envious eye on the regal splendours of his great victim.

We hear no more of Hampton Court for upwards of a year; but in the month of November, 1652, a bill was introduced into Parliament for the sale of the late King's houses and lands exempted from the operation of the former Act, among which, as we have seen, was Hampton Court. The bill at first proceeded pretty smoothly, and on Nov. 27th, 1652,[2] it was "Resolved that Hampton Court, together with Bushey Park and the other two parks, the Harewarren, and Meadows there, with the Appurtenances belonging to the State there, be sold for ready money."

[1] Whitelock, p. 509; Ludlow, vol. i., p. 372; Heath's *Flagellum. Journal of the House of Commons*, p. 301.

[2] *Commons' Journal.*

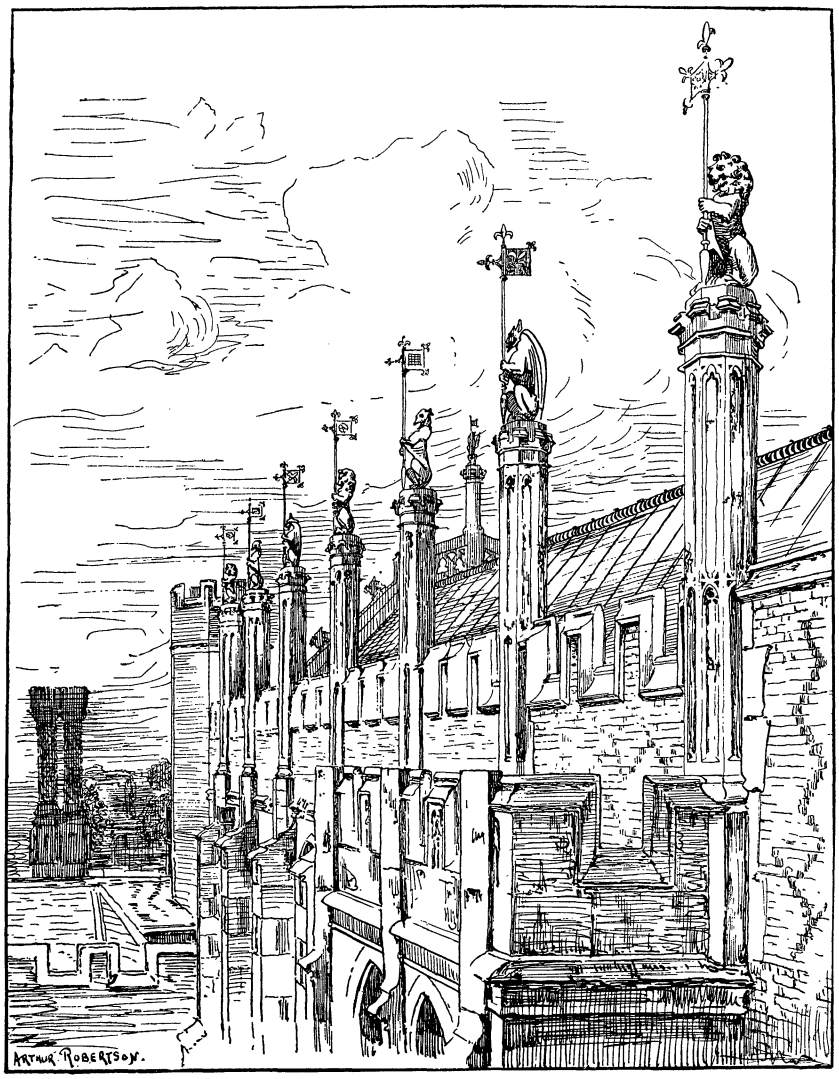
This resolution, however, was not suffered to stand for more than a month; for when the question was put, on December 29th following, that "Hampton Court, &c., do stand in the bill," the House divided, when thirty voted with the noes, and eighteen voted with the yeas, "so it passed with the negative."[1] The minority, however, were by no means disposed to acquiesce in this decision, and on December 31st, "the question being propounded that leave should be given to speak against the vote that Hampton Court and other lands thereto belonging should not be sold by the bill, and the question being put, that this question be now put, it passed with the affirmative. And the main question being put: It was *Resolved* that leave shall be given to speak against the vote." The question being thus re-opened, the debate resulted in a reversal of the previous decision of the House, which perhaps had been arrived at by a snap division, and "the Mansion-House, commonly called Hampton Court, in the County of Middlesex, with the Barns, Stables, Outhouses, Gardens, Orchards, Yards, Courts and Backsides belonging to or used and enjoyed with the said Mansion House, with the Park commonly called the House Park, and the two Parks there, the one called the middle Park, and the other called Bushey Park," were accordingly ordered to stand part of the bill,[2] which was passed into law on the last day of the year.

But even yet the question was not finally determined, for the full survey of Hampton Court being completed on April 5th, 1653,[3] and laid on the table of the House a few days

[1] *Commons' Journals.*

[2] There was a claim of Sir John Hippesley, who had a grant of the custody of Bushey Park in 1628 from Charles I., and whose rights were ordered to be reserved by a clause in the bill.—Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes;* and *State Papers, Domestic, Charles I.*, vol. cxiv., No. 18, Oct. 4th, 1628. Scobell's *Acts and Ordinances of Parliament*, part ii., p. 227.

[3] See *ante*, p. 167, and *post*, *Appendix* A.



Parapet of the Great Hall as seen from the Roof.

after, the Parliament, probably at the instigation of some of Cromwell's friends, who knew of the liking he had taken to Wolsey's palace, passed a resolution on Friday, April 15th, 1653, that "the House called Hampton Court with the appurtenances, and the three Parks thereunto belonging, and what is contained in the survey, be staid from sale until the Parliament take further order: And that the Trustees and Contractors be enjoined to forbear to make sale thereof accordingly."[1] Nevertheless, on the 23rd of August, this vote, on the recommendation of the Committee for raising moneys, was again rescinded, and the manor and palace of Hampton Court were once more to be put up to auction.

Ere a month had elapsed, however, namely, on the 20th of September, another departure was taken, by the Parliament resolving that "there should be an offer of Hampton Court to the Lord General (Cromwell) in exchange for New Hall[2] upon a proportionate value," and that "Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper do tender this offer to the Lord General from this House." But the time was not yet ripe for such an assumption of state and dignity, and Cromwell, while returning "his humble acknowledgments for the great respects of the House towards him therein," yet desired that it would "proceed to dispose thereof according to their former resolution."[3] Not much heed, however, was paid to this pretence of disinterestedness, for it was ordered that "the house called Hampton Court, with the outhouses and gardens thereunto belonging, and the little park wherein it stands, be stayed from sale until the Parliament take further order."[4]

[1] *Commons' Journals*, p. 307.

[2] New Hall, in Essex, was an estate of the Duke of Buckingham's, which had been sequestrated by the Parliament, and bought by Cromwell, April 2nd, 1651. (See Mr. Booth's *MS. Collection. Parliamentary History*, vol. xx., p 223, and Morant's *History of Essex*, vol. ii. p. 15.)

[3] Burton's *Diary*, vol. i., p. xi.

[4] *Commons' Journals.*

The parks, however, other than the House Park, were put up to auction; and contracts were entered into by the Trustees of the Royal Lands for the sale, on November 15th, 1653, of Bushey Park and its appurtenances to Edmund Backwall for £6,638 7*s.*; and, on December 3rd, of the Middle Park to Colonel Norton for £3,701 19*s.* The fee of the Manor and Honour of Hampton Court had previously been sold to a Mr. John Phelps, of London, gentleman, for £750.[1]

But almost immediately after these transactions, namely, on the 16th of December, 1653, the whole aspect of affairs was changed by Cromwell being proclaimed Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, when steps were at once taken to re-acquire, on behalf of the State, the premises recently sold.

There was at first some difficulty in effecting the necessary surrenders on reasonable terms, because the purchasers had not only already paid the purchase-money and entered into possession, but had even disposed of part of their interests to other persons. However, after some negociations, which are set out in detail in Appendix B., arrangements were eventually agreed upon for the redemption by the State of all the parks and lands sold, on the return of the purchase-moneys, and the payment of some £2,000 surplusage by way of profit to the purchasers and their assignees.[2]

As to the Manor, Mr. Phelps was easily induced to consent to a re-conveyance of it to Cromwell for £750. This

[1] Apparently on July 23rd, 1651 (Lyson's *Middlesex Parishes*, p. 52). The amount was calculated on the basis of sixteen years' purchase of the manorial rights, profits, and rents. These consisted of—in possession—"the quit rents of the Honour, £16 per annum;" "the profits of the Courts Leatte and Courts Baron, £20 per ann.;" and the "rent of an ozier eight, £1 per ann.;" and—in reversion—"2 peases of pasture, after one liffe, £27 per ann.;" "a house with one Rooade of ground, per ann., £6;" "and the wood and trease, after 2 lives, being valued in possession at £60."—(*State Papers, Domestic, Commonwealth*, vol. lxxii., No. 30, June 27th, 1654.)

[2] July 20th, 1654.

was effected on August 30th, 1654;[1] and in the year 1657 Cromwell's name is entered in the Court Rolls as owner of the manor.

In the meanwhile, an order was issued directing that "the house at Hampton Court, with the Park and all the lodges, stables, and outhouses, and the houses in the Park, were to be forthwith cleared for the Protector's use; and all persons concerned to take notice and conform."[2] Thus did the royal Palace of Hampton Court, the home of so many of England's Kings and Queens, pass into the hands of the Regicide, Oliver Cromwell.

[1] See *Warrants of the Protector and Council Do.*, July 31st, 1655.

[2] *State Papers, Domestic, Commonwealth*, vol. lxvii., No. 88.

CHAPTER XIV.

OLIVER CROMWELL'S PRIVATE LIFE AT HAMPTON COURT.

Cromwell installed as Lord Protector—"His Highness'" Visits to Hampton Court—Plot to assassinate him on his Way—The Conspirators arrested, tried and condemned—Proclamation of Charles II. against Cromwell—Free Leave to murder the "Detestable Villain"—Promise of a Large Pension to the Assassin—Mrs. Cromwell, "the Lady Protectress"—Comical and Ribald Stories against her—Her "Court and Kitchen"—Charged with Niggardliness—The Protector's State Banquets—His "Court of Beggars"—His Boisterous Joviality with his Familiars—Practical Jokes—Puts Hot Coals in his Friends' Boots—Cromwell out Hunting—His Appreciation of Pictures and Tapestry—Furniture of his own Room in the Palace—His Delight in Music—Milton playing on the Organ in the Great Hall—Another Plot against the Protector's Life—An Infernal Machine—His "Removal" commended by Charles II. and his Brother James—Cromwell haunted by the Dread of Assassination—Marriage of Mary Cromwell to Lord Falconberg in the Chapel—Sycophantic Language of the Court Scribes.

FROM the 16th of December, 1653—the date of Cromwell's installation as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland—we find that "His Highness," as he was henceforth designated, resided very frequently at Hampton Court, his visits, whether of short or of long duration, being all carefully chronicled in the official journals of the time. When the Protector came to reside at Hampton Court for any length of time, the members of the Coun-

cil also came with him; "and there," says one of the newspapers of the day, "the great affairs of the nation are transacted with labour and care as if they were at Whitehall."[1] His first visit after his promotion to his new dignity took place on April 15th, 1654, when we find it duly notified that "His Highness went this day to Hampton Court, and returned at night."[2] Soon after this, his often-repeated journeys backwards and forwards from London to the Palace, attracting the attention of his enemies, who were always on the look-out for an opportunity of despatching him, a bloody plot was entered into by some desperadoes, with the intention of lying in wait to murder him when he was on the road to Hampton Court.

The conspirators were, however, unable to agree as to the point in the journey where the assassination should be attempted; so it was put off till the Protector was coming back, before which time he received information of the danger threatening him, and returned another way.[3]

If they had succeeded in perpetrating the crime, the others engaged in it were to have murdered the rest of the Council, and seized on Whitehall, "sparing only some that they had excepted, and some to be cruelly tortured." Another party was to seize the Tower. To a third was entrusted the redoubtable task of overpowering the Lord Mayor and aldermen; while Charles II. was to be proclaimed king, and "was presently to be sent for, and with all his crew from all nations, whither they had fled, to hasten for England, and seize on all forts and harbours." Fortunately the conspirators, among whom was a brother of the Portuguese ambassador, were tracked, arrested, and brought to trial at Westminster, and condemned to death.

[1] *Perfect Proceedings*, No. 300.

[2] *Cromwelliana*, p. 139, and *passim*. Sev. Proc. of State Affairs. April 13 to 20.

[3] *Cromwelliana*, p. 144.

We could hardly believe that so dastardly a plot could have emanated from the baser sort even among the chivalrous Cavalier party, did we not know that about a month before its concoction a proclamation had been issued by Charles II., in which, after reciting the "accursed ways and means of a certain low mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell," went on to give, in the King's name, "free leave and liberty to any man whomsoever, within any of our three kingdoms, by pistol, sword, or poison, or by any other ways or means whatsoever, to destroy the life of the said Oliver Cromwell; wherein they will do an act acceptable to God and good men, by cutting off such a detestable villain from the face of the earth," [1] and giving his kingly word that the man, by whose hand the deed might be done, should have a pension of £500 a year for the rest of his life.

Even the presbyterians lent themselves to these designs against his life, and one of their ministers, who had preached before his Highness at Hampton Court, seized the opportunity of being in the Palace, to "pump" the servant boy, who waited on him, by asking him "what was the reason his Highness did sweat so much when he took exercise?" The boy answered that he always wore a "close coat (that is a coat of mail) under his other clothes." This piece of information the rascally presbyter forthwith communicated to his co-religionists, who in their plots against his life took their measures accordingly.[2]

With Cromwell, when he established himself permanently at Hampton Court, also came Mrs. Cromwell, "the Lady Protectress," as she was half-satirically called, who, as the wife of the arch-enemy, was the favourite butt for Royalist abuse and ridicule. The Cavalier wits, indeed, seem to have borne her a particular aversion, and they were never tired of

[1] Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 248.
[2] Thurloe, vol. i., p. 708.



Mrs. Cromwell, "the Lady Protectress."

scoffing at "old Joan," as she was derisively called, and of recounting scandalous and comical stories about her. She was no doubt a plain, and perhaps a commonplace woman, and not being over-wise, and having no great aptitude for accommodating herself to her new and great position, frequently said and did things, that afforded the smart ladies and gentlemen of the opposite party the most exquisite amusement. But beyond this, there does not appear to have been anything in her conduct or demeanour, which could fairly subject her to censure, for she seems to have settled down at Hampton Court to a simple, unostentatious life. Whatever she did, however, exposed her to laughter from the most opposite points of view. Sometimes it was the preposterous airs that she gave herself as Lady Protectress, and her ridiculously awkward imitations of Court manners, that were found fault with. At another time it was her simple tastes—"the impertinent meannesses" of her mode of life, so unbefitting a lady of her station!

In a publication entitled "The Court and Kitchen of Joan Cromwell," a scurrilous writer particularly makes fun of her household establishment at Hampton Court, laughing at her habits of "nimble housewifery," and declaring that she had employed a surveyor to make little labyrinths and trap-doors for her, "by which she might at all times, unseen, pass to and fro, and come unawares upon her servants, and keep them vigilant in their places." Besides, they accuse her of being continually down in the kitchen, worrying the cook about all sorts of trivial things, and being at the same time as niggardly and stingy as she was exacting. Even her moral character was assailed: some of the libellous pamphlets of the time charging her, without any shadow of foundation, with low gallantries with the common soldiers of Cromwell's regiment, and with an excessive indulgence in strong liquor.[1]

[1] Noble's *Memoirs of the Cromwells*, vol. i., pp. 127, 130, &c.

Nevertheless, in spite of the general homeliness of the lives of the Protector and his family at Hampton Court, the exigencies of State functions sometimes compelled him to depart from his domestic habits and give great public entertainments, such, for instance, as the banquet with which he feasted the Swedish ambassador in this Palace on July 26th, 1656. On occasions of this sort something of the old princely splendour of the Court of the Stuarts was imitated, the Protector's bodyguard of halberdiers attending in the banqueting room, and the dishes being brought to the table by the servitors with the ceremonial of the old English Court.

All this, of course, did not escape the censure of his critics, who commented severely on his "Court of Beggars, and such like mean people," who were rendered "very gay and jocund" by festivities of this sort. "A great deal of State," writes Heath,[1] one of his bitterest satirists, "was now used towards him; and the *French* Cringe, and other ceremonious pieces of gallantry and good deportment, which were thought unchristian and savouring of carnality, introduced in place of austere and down-cast looks, and silent mummery of starched and hypocritical gravity, the only becoming dress, forsooth, of Piety and Religion!"

Cromwell, however, was in truth chiefly solicitous about being treated with respect, in the presence of foreigners, as head of the English Commonwealth. Among his ordinary associates and the colonels of the army he still maintained his former relations of somewhat boisterous familiarity. Whitelock, who was in constant intercourse with him, tells us that "He would sometimes be very cheerful with us, and laying aside his greatness, be exceedingly familiar with us, and, by way of diversion, would make verses with us, and everyone must try his fancy. He commonly called for

[1] *Flagellum*, p. 164.

tobacco-pipes and a candle, and would now and then take tobacco himself. Then he would fall again to his serious and great business, and advise with us in those affairs."[1]

Heath also gives us a similar account of his life at Hampton Court, though, of course, tinged with a strong satirical animus. "His custom," says he, "was now to divert himself frequently at Hampton Court (which he had saved from sale, with other houses of the King's, for his own greatness), whither he went and came in post, with his Guards behind and before, as not yet secure of his life from the justice of some avenging hand. Here he used to hunt, and at the fall of a Deer, where he would be sure to be present, embrue his hands in the blood of it, and therewith asperse and sprinkle the attendants; and sometimes to coax the neighbouring Rusticks give them a Buck he hunted, and money to drink with it.[2] His own Diet was very spare, and not so curious, except in publique Treatments, which were constantly given every Monday in the week to all the officers of the Army not below a Captain, where he dined with them, and shewed them a hundred Antick Tricks, as throwing of Cushions, and putting live Coals into their pockets and boots; a table being likewise spread every day of the week for such officers as should casually come to Court. With these officers while he seemed to disport himself, taking off his Drink freely, and opening himself every way to the most free familiarity, He did merely lye at the catch of what should incogitantly and with unsuspected provocation fall from their mouths, which he would be sure to record and lay up against his occasion of reducing them to the speaker's memory, who were never likely to forget the prejudice and damage they had incurred by such loose dis-

[1] Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 656.

[2] P. 165. On the 25th of July, 1656, the Swedish ambassador dined and hunted with him at Hampton Court. —Whitelock's *Memorials*, p. 649.

coveries of their minds and inclinations. He had twenty other freaks in his head, for sometimes before he had half dined, he would give order for a drum to beat, and call on his Foot Guards, like a kennel of hounds, to snatch off meat from his table and tear it in pieces; the like Jocos and Frisks he would have with other company; even with some of the nobility, when he would not stick to tell them, what Company they had lately kept, when and where they had drank the King's health and the Royal Family's, bidding them when they did it again, to do it more privately, and this without any passion, and as festivous droll discourse."

Cromwell, however, also occupied himself with other amusements and tastes more refined than these rather rowdy gambols. For instance, he appreciated the arts sufficiently to keep Mantegna's "Triumph of Julius Cæsar" at Hampton Court, in order that it might decorate the walls of this Palace. This magnificent work, consisting of nine great canvases, each nine feet square, he had placed in the Long Gallery, which adjoined his own private rooms, and in which he must often have walked. That he was, besides, not indifferent to the beauty of the old tapestries preserved in the Palace, is proved by the facts that not only did he have the Great Hall decorated with them, but that he even hung his own bedroom with such an ungodly and carnal subject as "five pieces of fine tapestry hangings of Vulcan and Venus!" We learn this from the "Inventory of the goods at Hampton Court,"[1] taken after his death by order of the House of Commons, from which document we find his bedroom also contained the following furniture: "2 window curtains, one of scarlet baize, the other of serge; 1 small couch of fly coloured damask, and cased with watchet baize; 2 elbow chairs, ditto; 4 back stools, ditto; 1 black table with a turned

[1] Dated June, 1659. *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. cciii., No. 41. See *post*, p. 198, and Appendix C., where we have printed it in full.

frame; 1 pair of andirons with double brass; 1 pair of creepers with fire-shovel and tongs; 1 pair of bellows." In his dressing-room were: "1 old coberd; 1 Spanish table; 2 small Turkey carpets; 1 pair of andirons with double brass; 1 pair of creepers, and fire-shovel, tongs and bellows; 4 back stools of Turkey work."

All of these articles, except the "1 old coberd" and the tapestries, which are described as belonging to the State, are entered in the inventory, which is still preserved in the Record Office, as being the private property of Cromwell; and similar distinctions are made throughout that document in regard to the contents of every room in the Palace. How he can have become possessed of the enormous amount of furniture and household goods, thus made out to be his own, is not clear. They evidently were part of the original contents of the Palace; and, perhaps, he bought them in bulk from the persons to whom they had been knocked down at the sale, and who had not removed them from the Palace when the Protector entered into possession of Hampton Court. Certain it is, at any rate, that they were claimed by his family after his death as his private property.[1]

Cromwell seems to have taken some interest also in the gardens and parks of Hampton Court, for we find that, soon after his coming into possession of the manor, he gave orders that the bridges and banks of the New or Longford River, which, as we have seen, was made by Charles I. to supply the fountains and ponds at the Palace,[2] should be repaired and the water made to flow again. The supply had been interrupted in 1648, when the inhabitants of the parishes of Feltham, Hanworth, Bedfont, Hampton and Teddington, through which its course lies, taking advantage of the political disorders, stopped its passage by sinking the bridges, and throw-

[1] See *post*, p. 199.

[2] See *ante*, p. 123.

ing down stones and gravel. They did this on account of the injury which, as it was alleged, this artificial water-course had frequently done them, by overflowing its banks and drowning the corn and hay in their fields, and ruining and rotting their sheep.[1] Cromwell's action in restoring the obnoxious water-course was, therefore, not at all relished in the neighbourhood of Hampton Court. But he was now too secure to heed their disapproval: so much so, that having re-established the flow, he went on to divert it into the "Hare-warren" (that part of Bushey Park which lies along the north of the road from Kingston to Hampton Court), where he caused two ponds to be dug, which were thenceforward known as "the Hare-warren Ponds,"[2] a name now corrupted into "the *Heron* Ponds," and sometimes absurdly enough called "the *Herring* Ponds." At the same time he barred the passage, which had been considered an immemorial right of way, through the Hare-warren from Hampton Wick to Hampton Court, erecting palings across it, much to the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants of the Wick. But no open protest was ventured during the Protector's life-time, though in an anonymous satirical piece, hawked about the streets of London at this time, entitled "The Picture of a New Courtier, drawn in a conference between *Mr. Time-Server* and *Mr. Plain-heart*,"[3] "Time-server," as one of Cromwell's sycophants, while contemplating with "trembling heart and shaking bones" the contingency of a change in the Government, is made to refer to this unpopular act in asking:—"Who will have the fine houses, the brave parks, the pleasant fields and delightful gardens, that we have possessed without any right, and built at other men's cost?

[1] *7th Report of the Historical Commission*, pp. 77 and 78.

[2] Lysons' *Middlesex Parishes and Court Rolls of the Manor of Hampton Court.*

[3] *Civil War Tracts*, vol. 682, *King's Library*, B.M.

Who shall enjoy the delight of the new Rivers and Ponds at Hampton Court whose making cost vast sums of money, and who shall chase the game in the Harewarren, that my dear master hath inclosed for his own use, and for ours also that are time-servers?"

Cromwell was, besides, very fond of music, often entertaining those who were proficient in it; and patronizing John Hingston, a scholar of Orlando Gibbons, by appointing him organist and music-master to his daughters.[1] During his banquets at the Palace he usually had music played,[2] and after dinner, when the gentlemen joined the ladies in the drawing-room, there was instrumental music and singing, Cromwell himself sometimes intoning a psalm for the company.[3] He took besides, like his secretary Milton, great delight in the organ, and had two very fine ones put up in the Great Hall, the larger of the two being a gift from his friend, Dr. Goodwin, president of Magdalen College, Oxford, who took upon himself to remove it from the College and present it to the Protector.[4] It is pleasant to picture to oneself the scene in the Hall of Hampton Court at this time, when Milton, would seat himself at the organ under "the high-embowed roof," with the

> Storied windows richly dight,
> Casting a dim religious light,

and make "the pealing organ blow," while Cromwell and his family and attendants sat listening enraptured at the reverberations of the solemn music.

[1] Hawkins' *History of Music*, vol. iv., p. 44.

[2] Noble's *Memoirs of the Cromwells*, vol. i., p. 314.

[3] Thurloe's *State Papers*, April 12th, 1654.

[4] Inventory of Cromwell's goods, taken in August, 1659. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1877, p. 753. Hawkins in his *History of Music*, vol. iv., p. 45, gives a somewhat different account of the organ, stating that it was taken down during the Civil War, and that it was by Cromwell's orders that it was conveyed to Hampton Court, and placed in the Great Gallery.

The identical organ is now in Tewkesbury Abbey, to which it appears to have been presented by the authorities of Magdalen College, after having been returned to them at the Restoration.[1]

Another glimpse that history gives us of Cromwell's life at Hampton Court at this period, exhibits him to us with his family seated in the Chapel—probably in the Royal pew—attending the sombre Presbyterian service; or listening to the sermons of the servile ministers, who, like the court chaplains under the monarchy, framed their discourses, when they had the privilege of preaching before his Highness, so as to flatter and please their chief auditor. There is record, for instance, "of a sermon preached before the Lord Protector at Hampton Court, by the minister of Hampton, about the latter end of Aug., 1655:" in which he drew "a parallel between David cutting off the top of Saul's garment, and the cutting off the late King's head; and how David was troubled for what he had done, though he was ordained to succeed Saul"[2]—which was a delicate way of justifying the King's murder, and Cromwell's usurpation, doubtless very pleasing to his Highness.

But though Cromwell was so comfortably established at Hampton Court, he was soon awakened again to the constant danger threatening him from his secret foes, by the discovery, at the beginning of the year 1657, of another conspiracy against his life, known to history as "Syndercomb's plot." The assassins, who, on this occasion, received encouragement and assistance from Don Alonzo, a former ambassador of Spain in England, again selected one of Cromwell's journeys to Hampton Court as the best opportunity for effecting their devilish purpose. A spot at Hammersmith was chosen, where they intended "planting an

[1] *State Papers, Domestic*, Charles II., vol. xi., No. 57, Aug. 27th, 1660.
[2] *Ashmolean Museum*, No. 826, 254a.

engine which, being discharged, would have, upon occasion, torn away coach and person in it, that should pass by."[1] This seems to be the first recorded instance of an attempt to use an infernal machine; and it is strange to find the Duke of York, afterwards James II., and his brother, Charles II., calmly discussing, like a couple of dynamiters, such designs for "removing" the usurper—and the Duke, in a letter to his brother, speaking of it with approval, as "better laid and resolved on than any he had known of the kind."[2]

After the Restoration, also, we find a certain C ptain Thomas Gardiner petitioning Charles II. for relief on the ground of his faithful services in the Royal cause, mentioning among them that "in 1657, he intended an attempt on Cromwell, but was taken in the Gallery at Hampton Court, with two loaded pistols and a dagger, kept twelve months a prisoner, and only failed to be sentenced to death by want of evidence on the trial."[3]

No wonder that the frequent discovery of conspiracies like these, and the suspicion that he was perhaps encompassed in his own palace by spies and traitors, should have begun to shake even Cromwell's iron nerves, and that the heart, which had never quailed in battle, should have been made to flinch at last before the haunting terror of unknown and invisible foes.

We are assured by Heath[4] that, "He began to dread every person or strange face he saw (which he would anxiously and intently view) for an assassin, that book of 'Killing no murder' perpetually running in his mind. It was his constant Custom to shift and change his lodging, to which he passed through twenty several locks, and out of which he had

[1] *Cromwelliana*, p. 160.
[2] Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. ii., p. 666.
[3] *State Papers, Domestic*, vol. lxvi., No. 118.
[4] Heath's *Flagellum*, p. 193.

four or five ways to avoid pursuit. When he went between Whitehall and Hampton Court, he passed by private and back ways, but never the same way backward and forward, he was always in a hurry, his Guards behind and before riding at full Gallop, and the Coach always filled, especially the Boot, with armed persons, he himself being furnished with private weapons; and was now of more than difficult access to all persons."

Nevertheless, he continued to receive his intimate friends and supporters at Hampton Court, and among those who associated on familiar terms with him and his family was Thomas, Viscount Falconbridge, who, after a short courtship, which Cromwell encouraged, became engaged to Mary Cromwell, his third daughter. The marriage was publicly solemnized in the chapel of the Palace on Thursday, November 17th, 1657,[1] by one of Oliver's chaplains, but the same day they were also privately married, according to the form prescribed by the Church of England, by Dr. Hewitt, with the privity of the Protector, who pretended to yield to it "in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughter"—who was a staunch member of the Church of England—though he was doubtless also swayed not a little by the fear that, in the event of a Restoration, the marriage might otherwise be afterwards invalidated.[2] The language in which the wedding was announced in the gazette of the day, the "Mercurius Politicus," shows how completely the political scribes of the time adopted the language of courtiers in treating of the doings of the Protector's family:—

Tuesday, Nov. 17th.

Yesterday afternoon his highness went to Hampton Court, and this day the most illustrious lady, the lady Mary Cromwell, third daughter of his Highness the Lord Protector, was there married to

[1] Noble's *Memorials of the Cromwells*, vol. i., p. 143.
[2] Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. i., p. 144.

the most noble lord, the Lord Falconbridge, in the presence of their highnesses, and many noble persons.[1]

Cromwell's behaviour, however, at these festivities was not always consonant with such magniloquent phrases; for at the marriage of his daughter Frances to Mr. Rich, a short time before, he amused himself with such vulgar horse-play as throwing about "the sack posset amongst all the ladies to spoil their clothes, which they took as a favour, and daubed all the stools where they were to sit, with wet sweetmeats."[1]

[1] *Cromwelliana*, p. 169. See also Noble's *Cromwell.*
[2] Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. i., p. 155.



CHAPTER XV.

DEATH OF MRS. CLAYPOLE—CROMWELL'S LAST ILLNESS.

Cromwell gathers his Family about him—Estrangement of his old Friends—He is solaced by his Children in his Troubles—Illness of Mrs. Claypole—She upbraids her Father with his Crimes—She dies—Buried in Westminster Abbey—Cromwell's Grief—His failing Health—He has the Bible read to him—Submission to the Will of God a hard Lesson—He gets better—Meets George Fox, the Quaker, in the Park—"A Waft of Death"—Worse again—The Fever creeping on—"I shall not die by this Illness"—"God has answered our Prayers"—The Saints declare "He shall recover"—A Public Fast in the Palace—His Speedy Recovery peremptorily demanded of the Deity—But Cromwell grows worse—Removed to Whitehall—His Death.

THE day after Lord Falconbridge's marriage to Mary Cromwell, the newly married pair, accompanied by the Protector and his Court, removed to London for a short time. But neither he nor they were absent from Hampton Court long: for Cromwell had become so attached to the Palace, and had taken so great a dislike to the surroundings and associations of London, that he always seized the earliest opportunity of getting back here, and equally made a point of bringing with him his children and their families, to all

of whom regular apartments in the Palace were assigned, and always kept ready.[1]

In the following summer we again find him residing here; when, on July the 17th, 1658, there arrived his son, or as the "Mercurius Politicus" puts it, "the most illustrious Lord, the Lord Richard, who being returned from the western parts, was received by their Highnesses with the usual demonstrations of their high affection towards his Lordship."[2] And on the 30th of the same month arrived "the most noble Lord Falconbridge, with his most illustrious lady the Lady Mary, being safe returned out of the North."[3]

It was, in truth, in his domestic life, and in the society of his children and grandchildren, that Cromwell now found his only solace, amid the besetting cares that darkened the last years of his life—the disaffection among the people, the clamour in the army on account of the arrears of pay, the constant plots against his life, and the falling away of so many of his old friends, who viewed with a very deep and natural disgust his abandonment of all his former principles, and his turning his back on the professions of his whole lifetime.

By gathering his family about him, and cherishing their love, he sought to mitigate, in some degree, the feeling of desertion and isolation that all these troubles caused him. But even in his domestic relations he was now to meet with disappointments, still more painful. One of these was the defection of his son-in-law Fleetwood, to whom he had been especially kind and indulgent, but who now began ostentatiously to court the Republican party, and to set his wife against her father; and though he was living close to Hampton Court, refrained from visiting Cromwell.[4] But the bitterest trial to him of all was the serious illness of his favourite daughter,

[1] Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. ii., p. 155.
[2] *Cromwelliana*, p. 174.
[3] *Cromwelliana*, p. 174.
[4] Bates' *Elenchus*, p. 327, ed. 1676.

Elizabeth Claypole, the news of which was suddenly brought to him at the end of July in London, where he had gone for a few days on important business. He at once hastened back to Hampton Court, and put aside all state affairs to watch unremittingly by her bed-side. The exact nature of her disease is not known to history, nor does it appear to have been understood by her physicians, who, if we are to believe almost all the authorities, most lamentably mismanaged her case. Dr. Bates, one of those who attended her, speaks of it as "an inward impostume in her loins," and it is certain that she underwent most acute sufferings, which her father witnessed with most poignant distress. To heighten the tragedy of the scene, the Royalist pamphleteers drew harrowing accounts of how, in the agony of her fever and pain, she wildly reproached her father with his crimes and cruelties, adjuring him most solemnly, with her dying voice, to make atonement, ere it was too late, by restoring the rightful sovereign to his ancestral throne. Though discredit has been thrown on the probability of this story, it is strongly corroborated by the testimony of Dr. Bates,[1] Cromwell's physician, then resident in the Palace, who may, not improbably, have witnessed what he relates, and who, in any case, would scarcely have given currency to an anecdote so startling, unless he believed it had a good foundation in fact.

However this may be, Mrs. Claypole's illness did not last long; for she died about a week after she was first taken ill, at three o'clock in the morning of August the 6th, 1658, to the great sorrow of all the Court, and the inexpressible grief of her father.[2] The funeral, which was carried out on the most sumptuous scale, took place a few

[1] Bates' *Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum, in Anglia*, Pars Secunda, p. 327, ed. 1676.

[2] Thurloe's *State Papers. Mercurius Politicus*, Whitelock, p. 674.



Doorway in Tennis Court Lane.

days afterwards, the body being taken by water to Westminster, where it lay in state in the Painted Chamber, whence it was carried into the Abbey to be buried among the tombs of the Kings and Queens of England.

This cruel blow, combined with the feeble state of his health, already shattered by sleepless nights and the haunting terrors of assassination, produced an immediate and most disastrous effect on the wretched Protector. Within a week of her death, he was seized with a bad attack of gout and other disorders; and for four or five days lay in a very dangerous state.[1] One day, while laid up in his bed-chamber, "he called for his Bible, and desired a person honourable and godly then (with others) present, to read unto him Phil. 4, 11, 12, 13: 'Not that I speak under peril of want, for I have learnt in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and how to abound: everywhere and in all things I am instructed, both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need.' v. 13, 'I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me.' Which read, said he (to use his own words as near as I can remember them): 'This Scripture did once save my life, when my eldest son died, which went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did.'"[2]

"And then repeating the words of the text himself, declared his then thoughts to this purpose, reading the 10th and 11th verses of Paul's contentation and submission to the will of God in all conditions, said he; ''tis true, Paul, you have learnt this, and attained to this measure of grace, but what shall I do? Ah, poor creature, it is a hard lesson for me to take out. I find it so.' But reading on to the 13th

[1] Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vii., pp. 320, 340, Letter of Aug. 17th.

[2] *A Collection of several passages concerning his late Highness Oliver Cromwell in the time of his Sickness*, p. 10, written by one that was the Groom of his Bed-chamber. (Underwood, according to the British Museum Catalogue, Major Butler according to *Cromwelliana*.)

verse, where Paul saith, 'I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me,' then faith began to work, and his heart to find support and comfort, saying thus to himself: 'He that was Paul's Christ, is my Christ too; and so drew waters out of the well of salvation, Christ in the covenant of grace.'"

Soon after this he grew better for awhile, an improvement which he, doubtless, set down to a direct Divine interposition, and on the 17th of August he was well enough to go out for an hour.

It was most likely on this occasion that he was met, as he was riding in Hampton Court Park, by the Quaker, George Fox, with whom he had already had one or two interviews, and who now came to present a petition in favour of his co-religionists, the victims just then of much persecution in various parts of the country, though Cromwell himself was not unwilling that they should receive every reasonable toleration, and had been, in consequence, bitterly reproached by religious people of rival sects. "Before I came to him," says he, "as he rode at the head of his Life-Guards, I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him, and when I came to him he looked like a dead man."[1] After Fox had laid the sufferings of the Friends before him, and had warned him, Cromwell told him to come and visit him at the Palace. Fox, accordingly, went to stay the night at Kingston, and came over to Hampton Court on the following day; but on requesting to see the Protector, he learnt that he was ill and that the Doctors would not allow him to see anyone.[2] The fever was, in fact, insidiously creeping on; and though he was afterwards able to walk once or twice in the Palace gardens, on the 24th August he was again confined to his room. The

[1] G. Fox's *Journal*, 3rd ed. 1765, p. 127.
[2] Sewel's *History of the Quakers*, vol. i., p. 242.

five physicians who were attending him pronounced that he was suffering from an ague, called a "bastard tertian;" one of them, as he felt his pulse, observing that it intermitted.[1] The words caught the ear of the sick man, and he at once turned deadly pale, a cold perspiration covered his face, and staggering, he begged to be taken to his bed; where, when he had been revived by cordials, he made his private will.

Next morning, when one of the doctors came to see him, he asked "why he looked so sad?" to which the doctor answering that "he was naturally anxious with the responsibility of such a life as his resting on him," Cromwell replied: "You doctors think I am going to die." Then ordering the rest out of the room, and taking his wife caressingly by the hand, he said: "I declare to you that I shall not die by this illness; of this I am certain." Observing the surprise these words caused, he added, "Don't think me crazed. I am telling you what is true; and I have a better authority than your Galen or Hippocrates. God Himself has vouchsafed this answer to our prayers—not to mine alone, but those of others who have a closer intercourse and greater familiarity with him than I have. Be cheerful; banish all grief from your faces; and act towards me as though I was a mere servant. You are able to do much by your scientific knowledge, but nature is more potent than all the physicians in the world; and God surpasses nature in a still greater degree."[2]

The same communication was made to Thurloe and the different members of the Protector's family;[3] nor did it fail to obtain credence among men who believed that "in other instances he had been favoured with similar assurances, and that they had never deceived him." Even the doctors

[1] Bates' *Elenchus* (pars secunda), p. 275.

[2] Bates, *ubi supra.*

[3] Thurloe, vii., 367, 376.

were impressed, or affected to be, by his apparent confidence: and one of them accidentally meeting another of his particular acquaintance coming out of the sick room, who happened to remark that "he was afraid their patient was going to be light-headed," replied, "You are certainly a stranger in this house! Don't you know what was done last night? The chaplain, and all who are dear to God, dispersed in several parts of the Palace, have prayed to God for his health, and all brought this answer: "He shall recover!"

Indeed so certain were the Saints that all was now settled as they wished that "a public fast being ordered for his sake, and kept at Hampton Court, they did not so much pray to God for his health, as they thanked him for the undoubted pledges of his recovery."[1]

Dr. Goodwin, "his creature, and trencher-chaplain," as Ludlow disdainfully calls him,[2] especially distinguished himself in this way, giving out the form of prayer: "Lord, we beg not for his recovery, for that thou hast already granted and assured us of; but for his *speedy* recovery." And for a day or two it seemed as though their "saucy expostulation with God," to use a quaint expression of Warwick's, was likely to succeed in extorting a fulfilment of the promise, which it was sought to put on the Deity; for Cromwell was well enough, on August 26th, to receive a visit from Whitelock, whom he kindly entertained at dinner.[3]

But the improvement was shortlived. Instead of getting better Cromwell again grew worse, and the fever increasing, his mind was frequently affected with delirium. It was at length decided to try the effect of change of air; and the dying Protector was removed to Whitehall.[4] Here he lingered but a few days; and on the night of the 2nd of

[1] Echard's *History*, p. 824.
[2] Ludlow, p. 257.
[3] Whitelock, p. 674.
[4] Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 355.

September, the eve of his "fortunate day," the anniversary of the battles of Worcester and Dunbar, and in the midst of a terrific storm, the once mighty Oliver breathed his last, "embalmed with the tears of his people, and upon the wings of the prayers of the saints." [1]

[1] Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vii., p. 373, and Peck's *Cromwell*, p. 39.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE RESTORATION.

Richard Cromwell proclaimed Protector—Submits to the Long Parliament—Money to be raised by the sale of Goods at Hampton Court—Curious Inventory of the Furniture in the Palace—Hampton Court again to be sold—The Sale prevented by Ludlow—The Palace and Parks to be offered to General Monk—Twenty Thousand Pounds given to him instead—Restoration of Charles II.—"The Royal Oak"—Refurnishing of Hampton Court Palace—Works and Repairs—The Tennis Court improved—Charles II. plays Tennis—"Beastly Flattery"—The Gardens—Planting of the Avenues and Digging of the Canal in the Home Park—The Parks re-stocked with Game—The King entertained at the Upper Lodge in Bushey Park—Account of Edward Progers the Confidant of Charles's Intrigues—Numerous Applicants for Offices and Posts.

AS soon as Cromwell had breathed his last, the Council assembled to deliberate, and after a short consultation proclaimed his eldest son his successor in the Protectorate. But the burden under which even the great Oliver had staggered, soon proved too heavy for the feeble Richard, and before many months had elapsed, he had practically surrendered the government into the hands of the Long Parliament, the remnant of which now met and reasserted their claim to be the supreme constitutional authority in the country.

The restored members had not been long in session when their attention was imperatively called to the impoverished state of the national exchequer, and especially to the difficulty of meeting the great and dangerously increasing arrears in the pay of the army. They likewise had to take over and provide for the payment of the late Protector's debts, of which Richard Cromwell handed in a schedule amounting to £29,000. To have had recourse to taxation would have been certainly inexpedient, if not impossible: the only thing to do, therefore, was to find out what property, belonging to the Commonwealth, might most conveniently be turned into money, to meet these pressing needs. A committee was accordingly appointed "to examine what furniture, hangings, and other goods, in Whitehall, Hampton Court, Somerset House, and St. James's do, or ought of right to belong to the Commonwealth,"[1] and it was ordered "that it be referred to the said committee to take special care that the Goods and Household stuff at Hampton Court be kept from Embezzlement and spoil, and to bring in an act for their sale."

The inventory compiled by the Commissioners is, as we have before said, still preserved in the Record Office, and it contains much of curiosity relating to the furniture of the Palace, and incidentally throws a good deal of light on the domestic life of the Protectorial family.[2]

As to how he became possessed of them, we have already stated our inability to explain. We know, however, that the bulk of the contents of the Palace was declared by Mrs. Cromwell to belong to her late husband's estate, though after the Restoration she was found to have collected a lot of things at a fruiterer's warehouse, which unquestionably

[1] *Commons Journals*, May 23rd, 1659, and June 3rd; Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. i., p. 333.

[2] See *ante*, p. 180, and Appendix C.; and *State Papers, Domestic Commonwealth*, vol. cciii., No. 41.

had belonged to the Crown, and which she consequently was compelled to disgorge.[1]

Though the necessity of providing money for the public service was the ostensible reason for the resolution to sell the contents of Hampton Court, and so to leave it destitute of furniture, the Parliament was probably quite as much influenced by the intention of rendering it so comfortless as to discourage any desire Richard Cromwell might entertain of occupying it. Indeed, when he showed a reluctance to leave the State apartments at Whitehall, the Parliament sent him repeated messages to vacate them, until he thought it best to obey their injunctions and go. One day, also, when he had come down to Hampton Court to shoot deer in the Park, and had just shot one, a messenger arrived from the Commons, ordering that "none were to be killed," and he had to desist from his sport, not daring to shoot any more.[2]

With the same purpose in view, and likewise to prevent the royal palaces "from becoming objects of desire by ambitious men" in the future, a strong party in the House of Commons wanted to revive the long dormant order for the sale of Hampton Court and other Royal manors and parks; and a resolution had actually been passed to that effect[3] when Ludlow fortunately interposed to save the Palace. "For the house of Hampton Court, having been ordered to be sold that day," writes he in his "Memoirs,"[4] "which place I thought very convenient for the retirement of those that were employed in public affairs, when they should be indisposed in the summer season, I resolved to endeavour

[1] *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, May 7-14, 1660; and *Mercurius Politicus*, May 10-17, 1660.

[2] *State Papers*, vol. cciii. No. 34, June 6th, 1659.

[3] *Commons Journals*, Oct. 4th, 1659. There is no record in the Journal of this order being rescinded.

[4] Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ed. 1771, p. 286.

to prevent the sale of it, and accordingly procured a motion to be made at the sitting down of the House to that end, which took effect as I desired. For this I was very much blamed by my good friend, Sir Henry Vane, as a thing which was contrary to the interests of a commonwealth. He said that such places might justly be accounted amongst those things that prove Temptations to Ambitious Men, and exceedingly tend to sharpen their appetite to ascend the Throne. But for my own part, as I was free from any sinister design in this action, so I was of opinion that the temptation of sovereign power would prove a far stronger motive to aspire by the sword to gain the sceptre, which, when once attained, would soon be made use of to force the people to supply the want of such accommodation."

The Palace, accordingly, was not sold, neither was the intention of disposing of its furniture persevered in ; and for the next six months or so, the question as to what use it should be put to, was left undetermined. But when Monk, in the month of February following, soon after his arrival in London, declared for a free parliament, and brought back the secluded members to the Long Parliament, a proposal was brought forward in the House for settling the Honour and manor of Hampton Court, with its parks and other appurtenances upon him and his heirs; and the bill for it was read a first time [1] on the 25th of February, and a second time two days after. But this proposal Monk thought a snare of his opponents to bind him against the King; and he used all his influence with those members who were friendly to him to have the bill rejected.

This was accordingly done, but, by way of compensation, a sum of £20,000 was voted to him on March 15th, 1660,

[1] White Kennett's *History*, p. 67, Sat. Feb. 25th, 1660. *Publ. Intell.*, No. 6. Dr. Price's *Hist. of the King's Restoration.* Philips' *Charles II.*, p. 714.


CAROLUS II DEI GRATIA ANGLIAE SCOTIAE FRANCIAE ET HIBERNIAE REX ETC
W. Faithorne Sculp.

together with the custody and stewardship of Hampton Court Manor and Park for life.[1]

The Restoration, which Monk was so instrumental in bringing about, took place, it will be remembered, just two months and a half after this, and one of the first acts of the restored monarch was to confirm Monk in the offices of lieutenant, keeper, ranger and steward of Hampton Court, with the parks and warrens, which he accordingly retained until his death.[2]

The day on which King Charles II. made his triumphal entry into London, amid the wild enthusiasm of the people, was the 29th of May; and in commemoration of that event, and of his romantic preservation in the oak tree at Boscabel, after the Battle of Worcester, he had at one time the intention of founding an order of the "Royal Oak." The plan, however, was not persevered in; but we have at Hampton Court a rather curious instance of the sentimental interest which attached to the oak tree at this period, in two old fire-backs of cast-iron, each having a representation of an oak tree with three branches bearing three crowns, while below is the legend "The Royal Oak," with the King's initials, C. R. These fire-backs were doubtless made in order to be used in some of the fire-grates at Hampton Court in the first year of Charles's reign, at which time also many of the rooms in the Palace were refurnished and made ready for the reception of his Majesty—many of the pictures, tapestries, and other articles, which had been sold in the time of the Commonwealth, being recovered and sent down from London.[3]

But the works at Hampton Court at the beginning of

[1] Sir Hy. Verney's *Papers. Seventh Report of the Historical Commission*, p. 463; also *Commons Journals*, March 15th and 16th.

[2] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II.* vol. x., No. 2, Aug 1st, 1660.

[3] *House of Lords Papers; Seventh Report of the Historical Commission.*

Charles II.'s reign were not confined to re-furnishing and re-decorating the interior of the rooms. On the contrary, here and there in the building, considerable structural repairs and alterations were made, of which there is full record in the old accounts,[1] and of which traces are recognisable in various parts of the Palace. One of these is an old doorway which may be found in the north range of the



One of Charles II.'s Cast Iron Fire-Backs.
Preserved at Hampton Court.

old Gothic palace, at the further end of the Tennis Court Lane.

But it was in the Tennis Court itself that the works at this period were most considerable. Charles had been always fond of tennis, and with his Restoration the game, which had, of course, been condemned by the Puritans as ungodly and sinful, revived a great deal and came much into fashionable vogue. But in his visits to the Tennis

[1] See Harl. MSS., Nos. 1618, 1656, 1657, and 1658.

Court here he could not but observe that, though it was the best court in England as regards size and proportion, it was not quite abreast of all the recent improvements, that had been lately introduced in Paris and other continental cities, where he had himself played the game. He accordingly gave directions for the laying out of a considerable sum of money on various alterations. The "tambour," for instance, was mended, a new floor laid down, lines of black marble inserted to mark the chaces, the galleries improved, and the roof rebuilt. From the old accounts of the Board of Works are to be derived many particulars for these works, which, on account of their interest for lovers of this noble game, are collected in an appendix to this volume.[1] From other sources we find records of charges "for netts, curtains, and lynes, for the covering of seats with velvet cushions and other necessaries," and for the expenses of Long, the marker, taking the dimensions of this court, on which were modelled the King's new tennis courts at Whitehall and St. James's.[2]

Pending the completion of his new courts in London, Charles frequently played in this one, not only, it would seem, when in residence in this Palace, but also when staying in London, whence he would come down to have a game of tennis by preference here, like many players of the present day.

A letter of one Stephen Charlton, written to Sir R. Leveson about six months after his accession to the throne, and now preserved among the Duke of Sutherland's papers, gives us a glimpse of his habits in this respect:[3]—"London, 21st Jan. 1660-1. The King is in very good health and goes to Hampton Court often, and back again the same

[1] Harl. MSS., No. 1618, Dec., 1663. See Appendix D.

[2] Marshall's *Annals of Tennis*, p. 89.

[3] *Trentham Hall MSS.; Fifth Report on Hist. MSS.*

day, but very private. Most of his exercise is in the Tennis Court in the morning, when he doth not ride abroad; and when he doth ride abroad, he is on horseback by break of day, and most commonly back before noon." He appears to have been a fair player; but the way in which his servile courtiers flattered him in this as in other things, utterly disgusted honest Pepys, who writes[1]:—"To the Tennis Court, and there saw the King play at tennis, and others; but to see how the King's play was extolled without any cause at all was a loathsome sight, though sometimes, indeed, he did play very well and deserved to be commended; but such open flattery is beastly."

The other works about the Palace, undertaken at this time, we need not particularize. Their cost amounted in one year to about £7,000—an order "To pay Hugh May, paymaster of the works, £3,225 for charges in the buildings of Hampton Court," being issued on May 19th, 1662, and in the following October, £4,743 for repairs there "during the past six months."[2] These expenses were chiefly in consequence of Charles spending his honeymoon with Catherine of Braganza in this palace, as we shall see in our next chapter.

At the same time a guard-house for the foot-soldiers in the King's service was built in the Tilt Yard, which appears to be the origin of the present barracks, and which was subsequently enlarged. The stables on the green, also, were repaired at the cost of £628.[3]

Charles II. was rather fond of gardening, and one of his first cares after his accession was the putting the gardens here in order, French gardeners being sent for to improve them, and a Mr. May being appointed supervisor of

[1] *Diary*, Jan. 4th, 1664.
[2] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II.*, vol. lxi, No. 41, Oct. 13th, 1662.
[3] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II.*, vol. xxxvii, No. 47, June, 1661.

them.[1] Later on in his reign, Rose, the royal head-gardener, planted some very famous dwarf yew-trees here, which were long celebrated as being the finest in England.[2]

To Charles II. also we owe the first laying out of the Home Park in its present form—the planting of the great avenues of lime trees, radiating from the centre of the east front of the Palace, and the digging of the great canal, extending from the same front towards the river to a distance of three-quarters of a mile. This fact is worthy of note, as hitherto it has been erroneously stated that it was William III., who carried out these works. The avenues are symptoms of the influence of that French taste, which Charles imbibed only too strongly in many directions, during his sojourn abroad; while the canal, fringed with rows of lime-trees, is clearly a reminiscence of the Dutch scenery, with which he became familiar during his residence in Holland.

The preservation of the game in the Parks and about the manor of Hampton Court, was also a subject of concern to King Charles, who had the covers restocked, and who gave injunctions that all dogs, guns, nets, etc., used for its destruction should be destroyed."[3]

He likewise rebuilt the Upper Lodge in Bushey Park, and gave it as a residence to Mr. Edward Progers, by whom he was occasionally entertained at dinner there, when he came down to Hampton Court for a day's sport. Progers was a groom of the bed-chamber to the King, and a man of notoriety, at any rate, if not of note, in his time, having been a faithful servant to Charles II. during his troubles, and having been banished the King's presence in

[1] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II.*, vol. xxxvii, No. 47, Dec. 18th, 1661.

[2] "Walpole's *Observations on Modern Gardening in England.*

[3] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II.*, vol. xliv., No. 98, Nov. 25th, 1661, and Aug. 27th, 1662.

1650, by an Act of the States of Scotland, "as an evil instrument and bad counsellor of the King's."

De Grammont, to be more specific, declares that he was the confidant and instrument of the King's intrigues, and among the many scandalous stories of that scandalous time, there are several that lend colour to the accusation.[1] At any rate, he frequently acted as a secret agent for the Merry



The Upper Lodge in Bushey Park in the Reign of Charles II.

Monarch, whose commissions must have been of a very equivocal nature, and in reward for his services, if not as the price of the complacency of his own wife, he was the recipient of numerous appointments and favours from the King, chiefly of offices and privileges in and about Hampton Court,[2] among which was that of keeper of the Middle

[1] De Grammont's *Memoirs*, ed. 1859, p. 217, and note p. 381.

[2] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II.*, vol. lxxxvi, No. 78, Dec. 30th, 1663, and vol. cii, No. 27, Sept. 7th, 1664; vol. cv, No. 125, Nov. 30th, 1664.

or North Park, in reversion after the Duke of Albemarle, who nominated him his deputy during his life.[1]

Progers, however, was not the only faithful adherent of the restored monarch, who claimed his gratitude in the shape of appointments and emoluments in connection with Hampton Court. For the first few years after his restoration, Charles was literally overwhelmed with applications from all sorts of persons, each extolling his own services in the good old cause, and requesting some substantial recognition from his grateful sovereign. The State Papers of the years 1662 to 1667 abound with petitions for such offices as "Housekeeper of Hampton Court," "Keeper of the Standing Wardrobe" there, "Keeper of the Still House," "Keeper of the Game about Hampton Court," and many similar posts, together with the warrants and grants, which were the answers to such applications. One startling claim was that of one Clement Kynnersley, yeoman of the Wardrobe of Beds, who stated that £7,000 arrears of salary were due to him; and who further requested compensation for that "he had, by his exertions, preserved £500,000 worth of His Majesty's goods together at Hampton Court from sale and embezzlement."[2]

[1] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II.*, vol. cxxxvii, No. 145, Nov., 1665; vol. clxxxviii, No. 69, June 11th, 1667, etc.

[2] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II.*, vol. xxii, No. 171, Nov. 1660.

CHAPTER XVII.

HONEYMOON OF CHARLES II. AND CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA.

Marriage of Charles II. to Catherine of Braganza—Their Arrival in great State at Hampton Court—Etching by Dirk Stoop—Reception of their Majesties in the Palace—The Duchess of York comes to pay her Respects—Presentations to the Queen—The Judges—The Lord Mayor and Aldermen—The Nobility—John Evelyn's Impression of the new Queen—Her Ladies—Hideous and Disagreeable old Frumps—De Grammont's Opinion—"Six Frights who call themselves Maids of Honour"—"Peter of the Wood"—The Old Knight—A Fantastic and Comical Crew—Their ludicrous Dress—Their Monstrous Fardingales—The Queen's Obstinacy in Retaining her Native Dress—Submits and adopts the English Fashion—A Joyous Time at Hampton Court—The Queen's Portuguese Band—Evelyn's Description of the Palace—Pepys' Visit—The Parks and Gardens—A Portuguese Young Lady's Baby.

KING CHARLES II.'s restoration to the throne of his ancestors in May, 1660, was followed, exactly two years after, by his marriage to Catherine of Braganza, Infanta of Portugal, who, having sailed from Lisbon on the 23rd of April, St. George's Day, arrived off Portsmouth on the 14th of May, and came ashore when she had recovered from the effects of the journey, about a week after. On the day of her landing she received her first visit from Charles, and the

very next day, the 21st, these two very new acquaintances were married.

After staying two or three days at Portsmouth, the "happy pair" set out for Hampton Court—where it had been arranged that they should spend their honeymoon—"as well," [1] says the chronicler, "for the salubrity as majesty of it, being one of the most magnificent structures of all the royal palaces;" and here, after stopping a night at Windsor Castle, they arrived on the 29th of May, Charles's birthday, and the anniversary of his entry into London after the Restoration.[2]

Their progress hither took place in great state, as the accompanying facsimile of a contemporary etching drawn on the spot by Dirk Stoop shows,[3] in a chariot drawn by six horses, and accompanied by footmen, runners, men-at-arms, and a stream of carriages, in which were the ladies and gentlemen of the court, and of waggons and carts, which carried the *guarda-infantas*—that is, the fardingales of the Queen and her ladies, "without which," as Charles somewhat complainingly remarked, "there is no stirring." The royal coach must have driven across the bridge over the moat in front of the Great Gateway, through the First Court, to the foot of the Great Hall stairs under Anne Boleyn's archway, where they alighted, and passed up the stairs through two lines of guards, followed by the Comtesses of Pontevel and Penalva, the Countess of Suffolk, and other ladies and officers of the household. Under the screens of the Great Hall were assembled the Lord Chancellor

[1] Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 509.

[2] Echard's *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 8.

[3] From a set of seven plates illustrating Catherine of Braganza's progress from Lisbon to Hampton Court and London. A set is in the British Museum in the Sheepshanks' Collection. Stoop was a Dutch engraver who went to Lisbon with the vessel that brought the Infanta to England, and accompanied her home, for the express purpose of executing these etchings.

Clarendon,[1] the Lord Treasurer, and the Counsellors of State, who received the royal pair, and went before them up through the Hall and the Great Watching Chamber, to the Presence Chamber. Here they were greeted by the foreign ministers, who were present to offer the gratulations of their respective sovereigns on the marriage.

The new Queen then proceeded through a suite of several state rooms, in which were gathered, according to their degrees and several qualifications, the nobility, the lords and ladies of the Court, and others. After receiving their homage, the Queen retired to her own room.[2]

The same night the Duchess of York came from London in her barge to pay her respects to her Majesty, and was received at the Privy Garden Gate by the waterside by King Charles himself, who, taking her by the hand, led her to the Queen, who received her in her bed-chamber. The Duchess offered to kiss her hand, but the Queen prevented her by raising her up and kissing her. The royal family then seated themselves near the Queen's bed, and conversed with her.[3]

Next morning the Queen was dressed by eleven o'clock, and received several ladies, among them the wife of Sir Richard Fanshawe, whom the reader will remember as being with Charles I. at Hampton Court just before his escape, and who had performed the office of groomsman to Charles II. at his marriage at Portsmouth. Lady Fanshawe tells us that she "had the honour from the King, who was then present, to tell the Queen who I was, saying many kind things to ingratiate me with her Majesty, whereupon

[1] So says White Kennett, but Lord Sandwich, in a letter to Lord Clarendon, speaks of making "your excuse that your Lordship did not attend her Majesty's arrival at Hampton Court." See *Journal of Lord Sandwich.*

[2] *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe*, p. 144.

[3] *Life of Catherine of Braganza*, by Miss Strickland, who had access to some unpublished Portuguese authorities.

her Majesty gave her hand to me to kiss, with promises of her future favour."[1]

The rest of that day was probably spent in making the acquaintance of the various courtiers; and on the next, the 31st, the judges came to compliment her on her arrival. On June 2nd her Majesty received in state the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the city of London, who, by Sir William Wylde, their recorder (who pronounced a Spanish oration), presented her with a gold cup and £1,000 in it.[2] On this and other days she also received addresses from the nobility, and the submissions of several deputies for the cities and towns of England. Among them, we may be sure that the neighbouring town of Kingston-on-Thames was duly represented, especially as it had, about a fortnight before, been granted by the King the right of holding a weekly market, "on account of the convenience of thus supplying the household at Hampton Court," and had also received the privilege of "a fat buck to be sent every year out of Hampton Court Park, in consideration of a piece of land formerly parted with to the Crown."[3]

John Evelyn, the diarist, also came down from London to Hampton Court, and saw the Queen dining in public; and was afterwards taken by the Duke of Ormonde to be presented to her, and kiss her hand.[4] His impression of her was tolerably favourable, for he states that "She was yet of the handsomest countenance of all the rest, and though low of stature, prettily shaped, languishing and excellent eyes, her teeth wronging her mouth by sticking a little too far out: for the rest lovely enough."

But to say that she was "of the handsomest countenance"

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 145.

[2] Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 509; Pepys' *Diary;* Echard's *History*, p. 801; Echard iii. p. 84.

[3] *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II.*, vol. liv., No. 68, May 19th, 1662.

[4] *Diary*, May 31st.

of any of the Portuguese ladies who followed in her train, was not a very high commendation; for never, according to the universal opinion, both at Court and among the public, had a pack of such hideous, odious, disagreeable women been gathered together to attend a Queen. Lord Clarendon, who was not disposed to be censorious in this regard, stigmatized them as "old, ugly and proud, and incapable of any conversation with persons of quality and a liberal education;"[1] while the vivacious De Grammont, after saying that the Queen herself lent but little brilliancy to the Court where she came to reign, gives a caustic account of her retinue. It was composed, he says, of the Countess de Panétra, who came with her from Portugal, in the quality of lady of the bed-chamber; "six frights, who called themselves Maids of Honour, and a Duenna, another Monster, who took the title of governess to these extraordinary beauties."

The Court were not less critical of the gentlemen in attendance on the Queen. Among these, especially, was one Taurauvédez, who called himself Don Pedro Francisco de Silva, and who, though extremely handsome, "was," says De Grammont, "a greater fool than all the rest of the Portuguese put together, and more vain of his names than his person. On him the Duke of Buckingham fastened the nickname of "Peter of the Wood," which so enraged him that, after many fruitless complaints and ineffectual menaces, he left England in disgust. "The Old Knight," also, "a lock of whose hair quite covered the rest of his bald pate, bound on by a thread very oddly," was another object of ridicule to the scoffers.

Altogether, both the ladies and gentlemen of the Portuguese suite formed such a fantastic and comical crew, that in a witty and critical Court like that of Charles II., they

[1] *Autobiography*, ii. p. 167.

could not but be exposed to a constant fire of satirical comment.

But what gave rise to even more criticism and laughter than their looks and general appearance, was the ludicrous Portuguese dress in which the Queen and her ladies insisted on attiring themselves, instead of the pretty and graceful fashion then prevalent at the English Court. Their obstinacy in thus adhering to their native costume, which was not only strange, but positively ugly and grotesque, could not but create a prejudice against them, and tend to diminish that feeling of respect for the new Queen, which it should have been the first aim of all of them to foster.

It seems that before leaving Lisbon, Catherine had been strongly urged by her brother, the King of Portugal, and by her mother, to cling pertinaciously to all her native peculiarities of manners, customs, language, and dress, being foolishly persuaded that to do so would greatly conduce to the dignity of Portugal, and would soon lead the English ladies to follow her example, so that it would end in the Portuguese costume being adopted by every one at Court.

Of this idea Charles had probably got some inkling before his future wife had left Portugal; for he despatched to Lisbon a first-rate tailor, who was to fit her out in the smartest and best "tailor-made" French dresses; and when she landed at Portsmouth he sent her, at once, a most magnificent trousseau.

But in both cases Catherine refused to take the hint—the tailor she would not even see, the trousseau she utterly declined to wear, and even now that she was under her husband's roof, she still, with petty feminine obstinacy, adhered to her foolish resolution, as unconscious, apparently, of the bad taste of appearing so singular among a foreign people in the Court where she had come to reign, as she

evidently was of the stupidity of thereby giving her husband a good cause of complaint against her so early in their married life. Never, in truth, was a more foolish mistake made. Had the dresses she and her ladies insisted on wearing been pretty or graceful, there would have been more excuse for the eccentricity; and had the wearers of them been remarkable for beauty of feature or form, there would have been more chance of carrying off their strangeness in English eyes, and more likelihood of inducing the ladies of the Court to follow their lead and adopt the costume. But instead of this, the train of hideous, dowdy, old frumps, with their dumpy figures, their forbidding countenances, and their dark, olive complexions, "decked out in their monstrous fardingales," with "their fortops turned aside very strangely," raised a perfect howl of derision wherever they went.

Charles, who was keenly alive to the ludicrous, and always acutely sensitive to any ridicule cast on those connected with himself, and who was, all the time, only too conscious of the critical eyes and satiric tongues of his courtiers, implored her to lay this costume aside, and wear some of the trousseau he had presented to her.

But for a long time Catherine was obdurate; until at length, finding that the king, who had used persuasion in vain, was becoming peremptory, she obeyed, yielding at last with bad grace on a point in which she was clearly in the wrong, and on which she should have given in, cheerfully and willingly, at the beginning.

Throughout this dispute Catherine was so unfortunate as to receive nothing but bad advice from her ladies-in-waiting, who, being older than herself, and presumably possessed of more knowledge and experience of the world, should have encouraged her to take the wiser and more reasonable course, instead of from the outset doing everything in their power to set her against Charles, and to resist his authority



CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA, QUEEN OF CHARLES II.

in every way. Even after she herself had adopted the English costume, they themselves persisted in appearing before the whole Court in their grotesque "guarda-infantas," in defiance of her example, and in reproach, as it were, to her weakness in having surrendered. Eventually, however, even they had to conform, and were compelled to clothe their misshapen forms in the prevailing French fashion. The weakening of the new Queen's influence, caused by thus making her first stand against Charles on a question, in which eventual surrender on her part was inevitable, instead of reserving all her strength of will and firmness of purpose for a contest, where principles and not trifles were involved, had, as we shall see in our next chapter, the most fatal results on her future life with her husband.

After this things went on propitiously for some little time. For, though Charles was never in love with his wife, still he was sufficiently pleased with her youth, her simplicity, and her cheerful and innocent conversation to make the first few weeks of their sojourn at Hampton Court go off pretty well. The days were occupied with excursions on the river, sports in the parks, and games in the gardens; the evenings with plays, music, and balls, in which the King, who excelled in dancing, greatly distinguished himself.[1]

Evelyn, who was at the Palace for several days, gives us some account of what was going on. One day he saw the beautiful gondola sent to his Majesty by the State of Venice floating on the Thames, bearing, no doubt, the royal party, but he adds, "it was not comparable for swiftness to our common wherries, though managed by Venetians;" on another day he was present when her Majesty took supper privately in her bed-room; and on another he heard "the Queen's Portugal music, consisting of fifes, harps, and very ill voices."

[1] *Hist. Casa Real Portuguesa.*

At the same time Evelyn made a careful inspection of the whole palace and its contents and curiosities; and from what he tells us, under date June 9th, 1662, we can judge that it now shone again with much of its pristine splendour :—

"Hampton Court is as noble and uniform a pile, and as capacious as any Gothic architecture can have made it. There is incomparable furniture in it, especially hangings designed by Raphael, very rich with gold [he apparently means the tapestries in the Great Hall, representing the "History of Abraham," the designs of which are now attributed to Bernard van Orlay], also many rare pictures, especially the Cesarian Triumphs of Andr. Mantegna, formerly the Duke of Mantua's; of the tapestries, I believe the world can show nothing nobler of the kind than the storys of Abraham and Tobit.[1] The gallery of hornes is very particular for the vast beames of stags, elks, antelopes, etc.

"The Queen's bed was an embroidery of silver on crimson velvet, and cost £8,000, being a present made by the States of Holland when his Majesty returned, and had formerly been given by them to our King's sister, the Princess of Orange, and being bought of her again was now presented to the King.[2] The great looking-glass and toilet of beaten and massive gold was given by the Queen Mother. The Queen brought over with her from Portugal such Indian cabinets as had never been seen here.

"The Great Hall is a most magnificent room. The chapel roof excellently fretted and gilt. I was also curious to visit the wardrobe and tents and other furniture of state."

Pepys also bears his testimony to the splendour of

[1] One piece of the Story of Tobit has been returned recently to Hampton Court.

[2] This bed is also mentioned by M. de Monconys a traveller in England in this reign, see *post*, p. 244. "Un lit et l'assortiment de velours incarnat, d'une parfaitement riche broderie d'or et d'argent, doublé de brocatelle."



Old East Front of Hampton Court in the time of Charles II.
From the picture by Danckers.

Hampton Court, when he visited it just after it had been prepared for the reception of the King and Queen, about a fortnight before their arrival.[1] He and his party were shown over the palace by Mr. Marriott, the housekeeper, and he also was much struck with "the noble furniture, particularly the Queen's bed, given her by the States of Holland; a looking-glass sent by the Queen-Mother from France, hanging in the Queen's chamber, and many brave pictures."

The Queen's Portuguese chronicler likewise speaks with enthusiasm of the hangings of silk and gold, the embroidered canopies, chairs, and beds, and the valuable paintings in the Palace.[2]

But it was not only the furniture and interior of the Palace that moved the interest of visitors. Its surrounding amenities, also, did not fail to attract observation; and Evelyn, especially, as a horticulturist, and the author of the "Sylva," speaks of—"The Park, formerly a naked piece of ground, now planted with sweet rows of lime trees; and the canal for water now near perfected," &c.,[3] a remark which shows, as we have already pointed out in our last chapter, that it is to Charles II., and not to William III., as is usually stated, that we are indebted for the making of the Long Canal, and the planting of the great avenues in the Home Park. If any further proof of this fact were needed, we have it in a curious contemporary picture of the old east front of the Palace before William III.'s alterations, taken from the park side, and showing the canal and the recently-planted lime trees. The picture was painted for Charles II. about this time by Danckers, a painter of architecture and landscape, and it can be traced as being in the royal collec-

[1] *Diary*, May 12th, 1662.
[2] See *Life of Queen Catherine*, by Miss Strickland, who had access to unpublished documents.
[3] *Diary*, June 9th, 1662.

tion since the time of James II., in whose catalogue it is entered thus:[1]—"Hampton Court with the Canal, by Danckers." It has recently been removed, at the author's suggestion, from St. James's Palace to Hampton Court, and an engraving of it is here inserted. The space in front of this façade of the Palace was afterwards, as we shall show in our next volume, occupied by the large semi-circular garden laid out by William III., and on that account this end of the canal was partly filled up, so as to be now further removed from the Palace than appears in this picture. Its present length is 3,500 feet, or nearly three-quarters of a mile, and its width 150 feet.

On the gardens Evelyn makes the following observations: "In the garden is a rich and noble fountain, with syrens, statues, etc., cast in copper by Fanelli, but no plenty of water. The cradle walk of horn-beam[2] [now called Queen Mary's Bower] in the garden is, for the perplexed twining of the trees, very observable. There is a parterre which they call Paradise, in which is a pretty banqueting house set over a cave or cellar. All these gardens might be exceedingly improved, as being too narrow for such a palace."

While Evelyn was surveying the gardens at Hampton Court, and noting what improvements might be made in them, Pepys was busy collecting the latest gossip from the Palace that reached him in London. On the 22nd of June he sets down in his diary: "This day I am told of a Portugal lady, at Hampton Court, that hath dropped a child already since the Queen's coming, and the King would not have them searched, whose it is; and so it is not commonly

[1] See James II.'s Catalogue in the British Museum. In Pepys' *Diary*, Jan. 1668-9, we find, "Dancre took measure of my panels in my dining-room, where in the four I intend to have the four houses of the king, Whitehall, Hampton Court, Greenwich and Windsor.

[2] The trees are wych elm, not horn-beam.

known yet." Nor does her name appear to be known to this day, though that of the father has been revealed by history—a reversal of the usual order of things in these cases which is sufficiently remarkable. He was, it seems, a Mr. Edward Tildesley, a member of an old Catholic Lancashire family, who had been sent to Portugal in the preceding autumn, with the embassy commissioned by Charles to bring over the Infanta into England. He appears to have fallen in love with the lady while in Portugal, and continued his suit on board ship on the way home. As a penance for his fault he was enjoined by the Queen to give the lady as compensation the sum of £1,500. To raise it he mortgaged his estate to some English priests, who in their turn imposed upon the lady as a penance for her sin, that she should give the money to them, which she did.[1]

[1] *The English Catholic Non-Jurors of* 1715, by Escourt and Payne, p. 342

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHARLES II. BETWIXT MISTRESS AND WIFE.

Discontent in London at "the King and Queen minding their Pleasures at Hampton Court"—The Queen resolved not to receive Lady Castlemaine—The King determined that she shall—The imperious Castlemaine's Audacity—Aspires to be publicly recognized as the King's Mistress—Charles presents her to Catherine—A Painful Scene—Catherine faints—Charles's "Wonderful Indignation"—Dreads the Appearance of being ruled by his Wife—Urged on by his Courtiers not to yield—Their Satirical Comments on the Queen and her Attendants—Charles's Honour involved—He demands that Catherine should make his Mistress a Lady of her Bedchamber—Catherine's Passionate Indignation at the Proposal—The aid of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon invoked—His Lordship speaks out—"Flesh and blood could not comply with it"—The King's unshakeable Determination—Requires Clarendon to Persuade the Queen to yield—He hesitates—Charles's Peremptory Letter—"The Keeper of the King's Conscience" undertakes to pander for his Majesty.

IN the meantime, the King and Queen spending such a long time at Hampton Court was beginning to occasion considerable dissatisfaction in London, where the presence of the Court was missed, and where the business of the State was at a standstill. Pepys, in a note at the end of his Diary for June, says: "This I take to be as bad a juncture as ever I observed. The King and new Queen minding their pleasures at Hampton Court: all people discontented."

But as Sir John Reresby remarked: "Though everything was gay and splendid and profusely joyful, it was easy to discern that the King was not excessively charmed with his new bride, who was a very little woman, with a pretty tolerable face, she neither in person nor manners having any one article to stand in competition with the charms of the Countess of Castlemaine, the finest woman of her age."[1] Indeed, of the King's indifference to her, and his preference for Lady Castlemaine, the Queen had not long to wait before receiving very emphatic proof.

Previous to Catherine of Braganza's quitting Portugal she had heard of the too intimate relations, which had for some time existed between King Charles and the young and beautiful Mrs. Palmer, afterwards Countess of Castlemaine, a lady of good birth, whose father had lost his life in the service of the Crown. And she had been warned by her mother, on no account, to receive her at Court, or even to allow her name to be mentioned in her presence. When, therefore, Catherine came to England and married Charles, she kept this resolution firmly planted in her mind.

Unfortunately her husband had, on his part, for many reasons, come to exactly the opposite conclusion; and he was determined to insist, at all hazards, on the Queen not only acknowledging and receiving Lady Castlemaine at Court, but positively making her one of the ladies of her bedchamber, and admitting her into her most intimate acquaintance. He had made this resolve, partly out of his infatuation for that fascinating lady, and partly in consequence of a promise, which the imperious beauty had extorted from him, of giving her such a position at Court as could not be gainsayed, and which would be some compensation to her for her loss of position in more respectable or less tolerant society.

Indeed her ladyship's audacity rose to such presumptuous

[1] Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 167.

heights that being with child by the King, about a fortnight before the Queen's arrival in England, she formed the design of going to Hampton Court for her confinement, so that that interesting event might occur in the Palace during the honeymoon of the Queen, and the King acknowledge her illegitimate offspring as his own, in the face of his newly-married wife!

This, however, was rather too much, even for the accommodating good nature of the easy-going Charles. But Lady Castlemaine, foiled in that part of her scheme, resolved that she would be satisfied with nothing less than being publicly recognized and received at Court, as the acknowledged mistress of the King, "*la maîtresse en titre*," according to the custom of the French Court, which has always been the accepted arbiter in all such questions of meretricious etiquette.

Such being the intentions and inclinations of the chief persons concerned, we can imagine the significance of the scene that occurred one day at Hampton Court, in the Presence Chamber, where Catherine was sitting, surrounded by the Court, when the door opened, and Charles, leading Lady Castlemaine by the hand, himself presented her to the Queen.

Catherine, who, of course, had never set eyes on the lady before, and who, perhaps, did not catch her name, nor fully understand who she was, rose and received her with her usual graciousness. But a moment after, divining who she was, and conscious of the flagrant insult that had been put upon her in the face of the whole Court, she sat down, her colour changed, tears gushed from her eyes, her nose bled, and she fainted. She was then taken into her own room; and all the company withdrew to talk over the scandalous scene they had just witnessed.

So painful an upshot of the King's first step towards his



Painted by Sr Peter Lely

Engraved by Wm Pether

project, should have made him, one would suppose, relinquish it at least for a time. But not at all. On the contrary, he looked upon the demeanour of the Queen in the affair "with wonderful indignation," and on receiving, in reply to his remonstrances, her answer that she would maintain her resolution not to receive Lady Castlemaine, in spite of everything he might do or say, he became excessively exasperated.

His pride was touched in the one quarter in which it was most tender—namely, the dread of appearing to the world as though he was governed by his wife, on which point, as Clarendon, whose pages are the authority for the particulars of this story,[1] observes: "He was the most jealous and the most resolute of any man," though no man's nature was, in its essence, "more remote from thoughts of roughness or hard-heartedness." He had persuaded himself, however, that his honour was involved in breaking down the resistance of his wife to his authority; and for once the Merry Monarch, usually so pliable and yielding, was as firm as adamant." To mark his displeasure the more emphatically, he entirely avoided the Queen's company, "and sought ease and refreshment in that jolly company, to which in the evenings he grew every day more indulgent, and in which there were some, who desired rather to inflame than pacify his discontent." Here among his boon companions he was certain to be strongly backed up in the course he was taking; for not only were they eager, from a spirit of courtiership, to flatter his pride, and encourage him to act according to the promptings of his passion; but they also feared that if the Queen were to get her way, it might lead to the purification of the Court, and put a very unwelcome period to their own immoral pranks. The courtiers, therefore, took their cue from the knowledge that the thing

[1] *Autobiography*, vol. ii.

above all others in the world, which the King shrank from, was to appear as though he was ruled by his wife. So they plied him unremittingly with urgent exhortations to make a stand now, assuring him that if he yielded on this point, he would ever afterwards be looked on as that most ridiculous of all objects—a hen-pecked husband. In a man like Charles, so alive to the ludicrous, these representations were not without effect. Nor was he oblivious of the Queen's ill-advised obstinacy about her native dress; how absurd she and her ladies had made themselves appear in the eyes of the whole Court; and how, when he insisted, she had been obliged to give in. This topic, also, his courtiers worked adroitly to the same end, holding up all the Queen's attendants to the most merciless ridicule, and indirectly pointing the shafts of their satire at the Queen herself. We can imagine the roars of laughter that greeted the sallies of the Court wits, such as Rochester, Buckingham, De Grammont, and Sir Charles Sedley, and of Charles's parasites, male and female, assembled in jovial supper parties around the Merry Monarch at Hampton Court, at the *Guarda-damas*, or Mother of the Maids, an austere, wrinkled old harridan, who looked more like an old housekeeper in fancy dress than a lady-in-waiting; at "Peter of the Wood" with his Lusitanian pride and his six names; at the "old knight" with his one lock of hair plastered across his bald pate; at those six frights, the maids of honour, with their shapeless figures, their absurd top-knots, and their olive-green complexions, who were so prudish as to refuse to sleep in any bed that had ever been slept in by a man;[1] and, by inuendo, at the Queen herself with her short, stunted figure, her snub nose, and her protruding tooth!

No wonder that all this confirmed Charles in his resolution not to give way to Catherine, whom he characterized

[1] *Letters of Philip second Lord Chesterfield*, p. 122.

as a *bat* instead of a woman! For a man to be ruled by his wife was bad enough; but to be ruled by such a wife!

On the other hand we must not forget the feelings of the poor Queen—in a strange country, without counsellors, and without friends, married, after one day's acquaintance, to a man whose affections were already engaged, to whom she was an object of indifference, and who, instead of being her protector, was trying to exact a most humiliating concession from her; while she, an alien in religion, and ignorant of the language and customs of the people, was surrounded by a crowd of cynics and scoffers. Never surely was a young woman placed in a more painful position!

But a still more bitter and cruel trial was yet in store for her. Hitherto, though Charles had freely expressed his displeasure to the Queen at her conduct when he presented Lady Castlemaine to her, and his determination that she should receive that lady at Court, he had not yet revealed to her his intention of insisting also on his mistress being appointed a lady of her bedchamber. This plan, however, he now proceeded to unfold, preferring it on the transparent pretext that it was the only means of vindicating her ladyship's aspersed character to the world.

But at this proposal the Queen was naturally only the more transported with indignation; and she burst out into a torrent of angry reproaches against her husband.

Finding that all his remonstrances with the Queen were of no avail, Charles bethought himself of having recourse to the persuasive powers of his Lord Chancellor, Clarendon, to whom he accordingly imparted his complaint of the Queen's "perverseness and ill-humours," and requested his assistance in his endeavour to break down her resistance to his project.

Clarendon, though he knew of what had taken place in the Presence-Chamber, had hitherto not heard of this truly shocking proposal; and he made bold to speak his mind

pretty freely to the King, censuring particularly "the hard-heartedness and cruelty in laying such a command upon the Queen, which flesh and blood could not comply with," and urging many other good reasons of policy and morality against his adhering to it. In answer, the King acknowledged that what his chancellor said proceeded no doubt from affection for him; but he declared that having undone this lady and ruined her reputation, he was bound in conscience and honour to do the utmost he could for her, that "he would always avow to have a great friendship for her, which he owed as well to the memory of her father as to her own person; and that he would look upon it as the highest disrespect to him in anybody who should treat her otherwise than was due to her own birth, and the dignity to which he had raised her. That he liked her company and conversation, from which he would not be restrained, because he knew there was and should be all innocence in it; and that his wife should never have cause to complain that he brake his vows to her if she would live towards him as a good wife ought to do, in rendering herself grateful and acceptable to him, which it was in her power to do." He added that he had proceeded so far in the business, and was so deeply engaged in it, that not only would the lady be exposed to all imaginable contempt if it was not carried through, "but his own honour would suffer so much, that he should become ridiculous to the world, and be thought, too, in pupilage under a governor. Therefore he should expect and exact conformity from his wife herein, which should be the only hard thing he would ever require from her, and which she herself might make very easy, for the lady would behave herself with all possible duty and humility unto her, which if she should fail to do in the least degree she should never see the King's face again: and that in the future he would undertake never to put any other servant about her without

first consulting her and receiving her consent and approbation." He concluded by saying that nothing should make him recede from the resolution he had taken; and that he required Clarendon to use all the persuasive arts, of which he was master, to induce the Queen to comply with his wishes.

Such a duty was not one that any man would willingly have had cast upon him, especially considering the isolated and forlorn condition of the young Queen; least of all could it have been a congenial one to Lord Clarendon, to whom Catherine had been bidden by her mother to look for counsel and sympathetic guidance,[1] and whom, as she touchingly assured him, she regarded as her only friend in England. Besides, the woman whom he was desired by the King to recommend as a lady of her bed-chamber, was one of his own bitterest personal enemies, hating him both on account of his grudging her the pernicious influence she wielded over the King, and on account of his forbidding his own wife to receive or even to notice her.

In these circumstances he was certainly hesitating to discharge the task assigned to him, if he was not actually endeavouring to thwart the King in his project, when he received from his Majesty the following peremptory letter:—

Hampton Court, Thursday morning.

For the Chancellor.

I forgot when you were here last to desire you to give Broderick good counsel not to meddle any more with what concerns my Lady Castlemaine, and to let him have a care how he is the author of any scandalous reports, for if I find him guilty of such a thing, I will make him repent it to the last moment of his life. And now I am entered on this matter, I think it very necessary to give you a little good council, lest you may think that by making a farther stir in the matter you may divert me from my resolution,

[1] Letter of Lord Sandwich from Portsmouth to Lord Clarendon.

which all the world shall never do, and I wish I may be unhappy in this world, and in the world to come, if I fail in the least degree of what I resolved, which is of making my Lady Castlemaine of my wife's bed-chamber, and whosoever I find endeavouring to hinder this resolution of mine, except it be only to myself, I will be his enemy to the last moment of my life. You know how much a friend I have been to you: if you will oblige me eternally, make this business as easy to me as you can, of what opinion you are of; for I am resolved to go through with this matter, let what will come of it, which again I solemnly swear before Almighty God; wherefore, if you desire to have the continuance of my friendship, meddle no more with this business, except it be to beat down all false and scandalous reports, and to facilitate what I am sure my honour is so much concerned in: and whomsoever I find to be my Lady Castlemaine's enemy in this matter, I do promise upon my word to be his enemy as long as I live. You may show this letter to my Lord Lieutenant, and if you have both a mind to oblige me, carry yourselves like friends to me in this matter.

CHARLES R.[1]

The import of this letter there was no mistaking; and "the Keeper of the King's Conscience" had the disagreeable alternative plainly put before him, either of resigning the Great Seal, and incurring the King's eternal enmity, or of employing all his powers of persuasion and argument, to induce a friendless and inexperienced young woman, specially committed to his care, to enter into most intimate relations with a woman, whom he thought too infamous to associate with his own wife!

Clarendon was not long in making his election: and inexhaustible were the plausible sophistries—set out with great diffuseness in his autobiography—with which, after the manner of politicians anxious to retain place and power, he tried to excuse to his own conscience and to the world, his adoption of the baser alternative. It was, of course, not

[1] *Secret History of Charles II.*, vol. i., p. 447.

that he feared the displeasure of the King, nor that he clung to the lucrative post of the Lord Chancellorship. Not at all! It was only his overwhelming sense of what was due to his sovereign and master, and his deep appreciation of the imperative exigencies of the political situation, which compelled him to waive any objections he might have had, and to subordinate his individual predilections to the good of the State. With verbose and laboured cant of this sort, did Clarendon seek to justify himself for assuming the disgraceful rôle of pander for the King!

CHAPTER XIX.

QUEEN CATHERINE AND LADY CASTLEMAINE.

Clarendon's Interviews with Catherine of Braganza—Her touching Reliance on him—His unworthy Sophistry—Tries to wheedle her to acquiesce in the King's Purpose—She threatens to return to Portugal—"Your mother wouldn't have you back"—High words between Charles and Catherine—Her "Perverseness"—Clarendon's Pharasaical Cant—The King's Mistress "an estimable and commendable Associate" for the Queen—Catherine's Determination—Studied Coldness and Indifference of the King—He passes his time in Jovial Company—The Queen's Attendants sent back to Portugal—Lady Castlemaine installed in the Palace—The Queen's friendless and forlorn Condition—Subjected to Ridicule and Indignity—She submits—Treats Lady Castlemaine with marked Familiarity—Loathsome Perfidy of Clarendon—Charles and Catherine visit the Queen-Mother Her Visit to this Palace—Their Majesties' State Entry into London by way of the Thames—Their Progress down the River in Magnificent Barges—Splendid Aquatic Pageant.

CLARENDON'S first interview with Queen Catherine of Braganza, to try and induce her to conform to the King's wishes, was not much of a success. For when, in expressing his regret at the misunderstanding that had arisen between their Majesties, he coolly did so in such a way as to show that the King imputed much blame to her, hinting also that he himself shared that view, she protested so passionately, and with such a torrent of tears, that there was

nothing for him to do but to retire, stiffly observing "that he would wait upon her in a fitter season, and when she should be more capable of receiving humble advice from her servants, who wished her well."

Next day he came to see her again, and found her much more composed, and she vouchsafed to excuse the excitement which she had betrayed the day before, pathetically remarking that "she looked upon him as one of the few friends she had, and from whom she would most willingly at all times receive counsel, but that she hoped he would not wonder at, nor blame her, if having greater misfortunes upon her, and having to struggle with more difficulties, than any woman had ever been put to of her condition, she sometimes gave vent to that passion that was ready to break her heart." To this Clarendon hypocritically replied that "such was his devotion to her, that he would always loyally say to her what was best for her to hear, though it might not please her, and though it should render him ungracious in her eyes." On which Catherine humbly told him "that he should never be more welcome to her than when he told her of her faults." Of the permission thus accorded him, his lordship at once took advantage, by explaining that her education, which had been almost entirely in a convent, had been such as to give her but little information "of the follies and iniquities of mankind, of which," he presumed, "the climate from whence she came could have given more instances than this cold region would afford, though at that time it was indeed very hot"; adding that otherwise "she could never have thought herself so miserable, and her condition so insupportable as she seemed to think it to be." Whereupon "with some blushing, some confusion, and some tears," she stammered out that, "She did not think that she should have found the King engaged in his affection to another lady—" and being unable from emotion to proceed

further, gave the Chancellor the opportunity, as he tells us, of saying, "that he knew well that she had been very little acquainted with or informed of the world; yet he could not believe that she was so utterly ignorant as to expect that the King her husband, in the full strength and vigour of his youth, was of so innocent a constitution, as to be reserved for her, whom he had never seen, and to have had no acquaintance or familiarity with the sex; and asked whether she believed, "when it should please God to send a Queen to Portugal, she should find that court so full of chaste affections?" Upon this her Majesty smiled, and spoke pleasantly enough, but hinting that she thought all this adroit sophistication by the Keeper of the King's Conscience somewhat beside the point—as indeed it was. This rather nettled "the plain-dealing man," as he calls himself, and, "with some warmth," he replied, "that he came to her with a message from the King, which if she received as she ought to do, and as he hoped she would, she would be the happiest Queen in the world. That whatever correspondences the King had entertained with any other ladies before he saw her Majesty, concerned her not; nor ought she to inquire into them or after them; that he now dedicated himself entirely and without reserve to her; and that if she met his affection with that warmth and spirit and good humour, which she well knew how to express, she would live a life of the greatest delight imaginable." This, and a great deal more in the same strain, Catherine heard with evident pleasure, thinking it all a prelude to an announcement that the King meant to renounce his design with regard to his mistress. She accordingly begged Clarendon to help her "in returning thanks to his Majesty and in obtaining his pardon for any passion or peevishness she might have been guilty of, and in assuring him of all future obedience and duty."

But the wily old Chancellor, having wheedled her up to this frame of mind, then proceeded to expound to her how fitting it was that her Majesty "should gratify this good resolution, justice and tenderness in the King, by meeting it with a proportionable submission and resignation on her part to whatsoever his Majesty should desire of her;" and he then straightway proceeded to insinuate the full purport of his mission, namely, that the King wished her to make his mistress a lady of her bed-chamber.

He had, however, no sooner hinted at this, than she again burst out "with all the rage and fury she had shown yesterday, but with fewer tears, the fire appearing in her eyes, where the water was, declaring that the King's insisting on such a condition could only proceed from hatred to her person, and his desire to expose her to the contempt of the world, who would think her worthy of such an affront, if she submitted to it, which rather than do so she would put herself on board of any little vessel, and so be transported to Lisbon," and many other other similar expressions, which outburst Clarendon coldly interrupted by remarking that "she had not the disposal of her own person, nor could go out of the house where she was, without the King's leave;" and he, therefore, advised her not to speak any more of Portugal, where there were enough who wished her to be; and so, after advising her not to irritate the King by exhibiting any such feeling as she had shown to him, or by giving him any definite or positive refusal to comply with his request, he left her.

Such was the sort of chivalrous sympathy, which the highly religious and moral Clarendon thought it becoming to extend to the unfortunate Catherine!

He next had an interview with Charles, in which he told him of all the kind and conciliatory things she had said of him, assuring him that it was only her passionate love for

him that made her, for the present, obdurate, and entreating him not to press her on the subject just for a few days.



Back Stairs to the Great Hall.

But Charles had other counsellors, who represented to him that what he contended for was not of so much importance in itself, as the manner of obtaining it; that the point now involved was who should rule at Court, he or the

Queen; and that if he yielded now he would ever after be under the thumb of his wife. Advice of this sort was only too consonant with Charles's present mood, and that night, when he and Catherine met, "the fire flamed higher than ever," he reproaching her with stubbornness and want of duty, and she him with tyranny and want of affection; talking loudly "how ill she was treated, and that she would return again to Portugal." To this he replied that she had better find out first whether her mother would care to have her back; "and that he would give her an opportunity of knowing this by sending to their home all her Portuguese servants, and that he would forthwith give orders for the discharge of them all, since they behaved themselves so ill; for to them and their counsels he imputed all her perverseness."

The passion and noise of the encounter of that night reached too many ears to be a secret the next day; and the whole Court was full of what ought to have been known to nobody.

Besides, the mutual behaviour of their majesties confirmed all that had been heard, or could be imagined, for they did not speak to, and hardly looked at, each other. "Everybody," says Clarendon, "was glad they were so far from town, for they were still at Hampton Court, and that there were so few witnesses of all that passed. The Queen sat melancholic in her chamber in tears, except when she drove them away by a more violent passion in choleric discourse; and the King sought his divertissements in that company that said and did all things to please him."

Affairs at the Palace continued in this posture for two or three days, at the end of which time Clarendon, at the instance of the King, again saw the Queen, and entered into a long discussion with her, urging her with the pharasaical cant, of which he was so great a master, to yield to the

King's demands, and blaming her for her vigorous resistance. The plea he chiefly used was that "as the husband would not impose a servant against whom just exceptions could be made; so it was presumed that no wife would refuse to receive a servant that was esteemed and commended by her husband"—as if Lady Castlemaine was a woman that any man could truly regard as an estimable and a commendable companion for his wife!—"and showing his trouble and wonder when she firmly declared, that however willing she might be to subordinate her personal feelings in the matter to those of the King," she could not, in conscience give her consent. All his dexterous pleading, however, was without avail; for the Queen declared to him her final determination that the King might do what he pleased, but that she would not consent to receive Lady Castlemaine as a lady of her bed-chamber.

After this rebuff, Clarendon's part in the affair was at an end, and he retired from the contest, with the discredit of having failed to move the Queen's resolution, and still more with the dishonour of having accepted the office of pander to the King's disgraceful whim.

Charles now gave up all idea of influencing his wife in the matter through persuasion; and tried instead what a little brutality would accomplish. Accordingly he seldom came into the Queen's presence, and when he did he treated her with studied coldness and indifference, neither speaking to, or noticing her. All his time he passed in the gay and careless company of those who, as Clarendon expresses it, "made it their business to laugh at all the world, and who were as bold with God Almighty as with any of his creatures;" and to make the Queen feel the more lonely, directed nearly all her Portuguese attendants to be shipped off back to Lisbon, without giving any reason for their sudden dismissal to the King and Queen of Portugal, and without

offering them any remuneration for having attended Catherine into England, so that she, not having as yet received any money of her own, had to see her old friends depart with their faithful services unacknowledged.

That the cup of her humiliation might be filled, her law agent, who had undertaken to pay her dowry into the Treasury, and who, according to Charles, had made default, though, in fact, he had not, was thrown into prison; while her venerable friend and relative, the Portuguese ambassador, was so grossly insulted on her account, that he was made ill, and after a long sickness "which all men believed would have killed him, as soon as he was able to endure the air, he left Hampton Court, and retired to his own house in the city."

All this time, Charles steadily pursued his point: Lady Castlemaine came to Hampton Court, and had apartments assigned her in the Palace, and she was every day, with brazen face, flaunting herself in the Queen's presence, the King being in constant conversation with her, while the Queen sat alone and unnoticed, the courtiers ostentatiously flocking round the King's mistress, whose favour they valued more than hers. If Catherine, resenting these indignities, rose to retire to her own room, scarcely any of those present troubled themselves to attend her; but the company remained in the room, while as she left, she could hear the intentionally ill-suppressed whispers and titterings, levelled at her "prudery." Charles, who at the outset of the misunderstanding had appeared worried and dejected, now assumed an air of the most perfect gaiety and good-humour, which made her feel—as it was intended to do—her isolation the more acutely. "On all occasions she was forced to see that there was a universal mirth in all company but in her's, and in all places but in her chamber;" and while her evenings were spent alone, those of the King were passed among

his boon companions, men and women, at jolly supper parties, the jokes and incidents of which were the one topic of conversation and laughter by the whole Court the next day—so that in everything, and at all times, the Queen should always feel completely "out of it."

Even her own attendants now began to take their cue from the rest of the Court, and were inclined to treat her with less respect than the King's shameless and triumphant paramour, who ruled the Court in her stead.

Never, in truth, was a woman, much less a Queen, placed in a more humiliating and cruel position; and it is a marvel that she should have endured it so long. At last, however, overwhelmed by the misery of her situation, and her spirit beaten down by the reiterated slights put upon her, she thought it best to end the contest by yielding unreservedly to her husband's wishes. Suddenly, one day, when least expected, Catherine condescended first to notice, then to speak to, Lady Castlemaine; and soon after treated her with marked familiarity. "She was merry with her in public, talked kindly of her, and in private used nobody more friendly." From that time forward the struggle was at an end: the Queen, having submitted to the King's terms, at once regained his goodwill, was admitted to share in all the gaieties that were going on, and resuming her position in the Court, was henceforth treated with the respect due to the Queen of England.

But though she purchased peace by this unconditional surrender, there were not wanting those who, though they had rendered her no assistance in her struggle with the King, now pretended that they had always "looked upon her with great compassion, commended the greatness of her spirit, and detested the barbarity of the affronts she underwent;" and who censured her most severely for not persevering in her former dignified resistance.

Conspicuous among these, and excelling them all in loathsome cant, was the man who had himself employed all his arts of sophistry and persuasion to induce her to accede to the King's demands, namely, the moral and religious Clarendon, who, in his Autobiography, sharply blames her "for this sudden downfall and total abandoning her own greatness, this low demeanour, and even application to a person she had justly abhorred and worthily condemned" —the "downfall" he had himself tried to bring her to; the "abandoning of her greatness," which he had himself counselled; the "low demeanour" he had himself urged her to adopt! The baseness of the Pharisee could not sink to lower depths!

Almost immediately after the reconciliation between Charles and Catherine, they had to go together to Greenwich to pay a visit of welcome to the Queen-Mother, Henrietta Maria, who had just come over to England to offer in person her congratulations on their marriage. The King and Queen set out from Hampton Court on the 28th of July, attended by a brilliant suite, and after a very amicable visit of four hours' duration, they returned the same day to this palace, and supped together in public.[1] The following day the King went up to town on business—or pleasure—"and in the evening the Queen, accompanied by her household, went to meet his Majesty on the road—a gallantry which the King so highly appreciated, that he expressed his pleasure most heartily, which was much applauded by the court."[2]

A day or two afterwards the Queen-Mother came to Hampton Court to return their visits. It must have been with sad and painful feelings that she revisited the Palace in which she had first resided with Charles I. thirty-six

[1] *Inedited Portuguese Records, collected and translated by J. Adamson*, cited by Miss Strickland. [2] *Hist. Casa Portuguesa.*

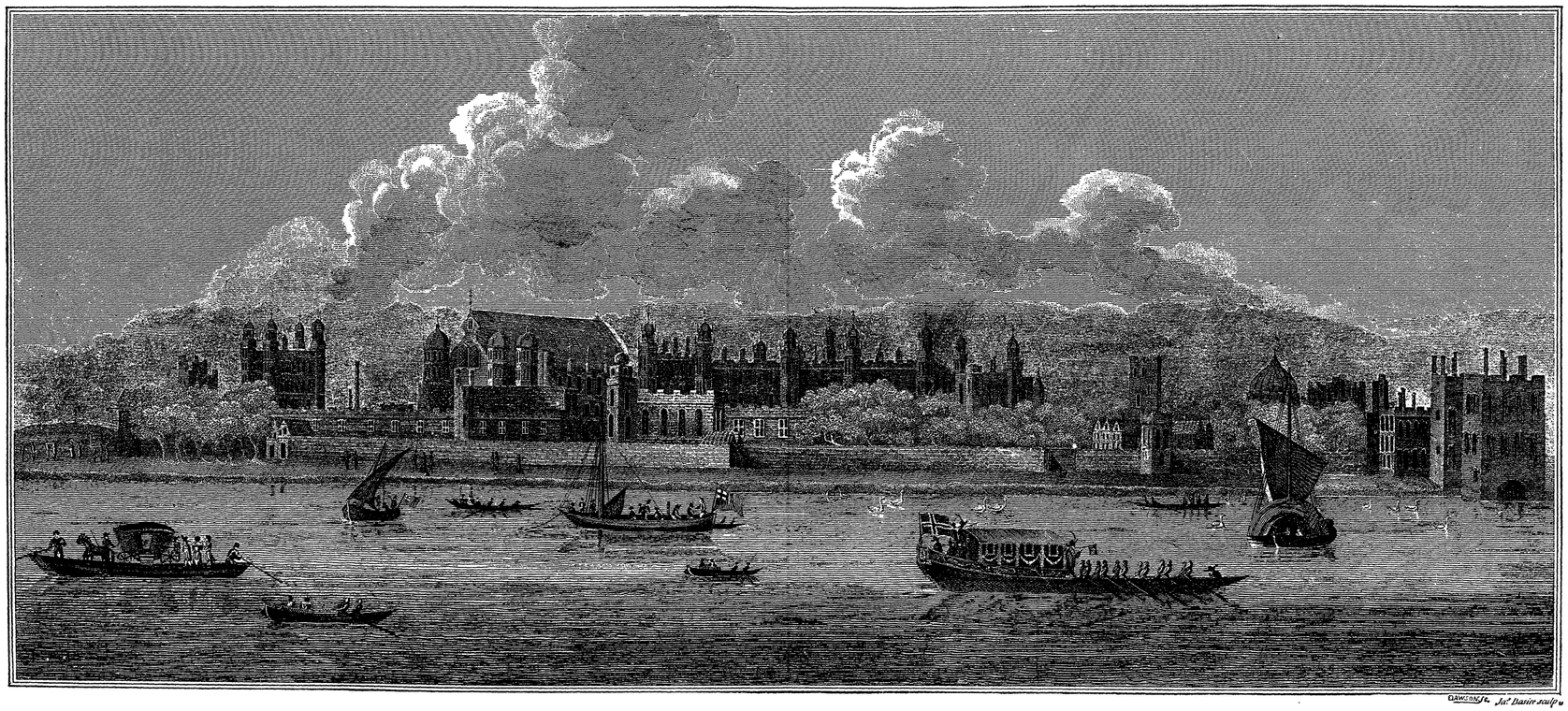
years before, just after her own marriage ;[1] and in which she had not set foot for twenty years, since their fatal flight from London in 1642, after the attempted arrest of the five members.[2]

When the Queen-Mother arrived, the King her son received her at the foot of the Great Hall stairs, and on her alighting led her up to the Hall, where the Queen, who was waiting for her, came forward to receive her. After the first greetings, they passed through the Hall and Guard Chamber to the Presence Chamber, where the two Queens seated themselves under the "cloth of state," or canopy, the Queen-Mother on the right of Queen Catherine, while the Duchess of York sat a little removed to the left. "The King and the Duke of York stood, and either one or the other acted as interpreters between the two Queens, for Catherine could not speak French, nor Henrietta Spanish, much less Portuguese."

Charles and Catherine dined in private with the Queen-Mother the first day of her arrival at Hampton Court, and in the afternoon the Duke and Duchess of York joined them in the Queen's Chamber, where they heard her Majesty's Portuguese band.[3] A few days afterwards she probably left Hampton Court and returned to Greenwich.

Charles and Catherine, however, remained on here till the 23rd of August, the day fixed for their state entry into London, which took place by river, with all the magnificent aquatic pageantry which was usual in that age. They embarked at Hampton Court in the afternoon in their own state barge, with the bargemen in their picturesque scarlet liveries, and were accompanied by the Duke and Duchess of York, Prince Rupert, his brother Prince Edward, and the Countess of Suffolk, the first lady of the bed-chamber to the

[1] See ante, p. 96. [2] See ante, p. 128.
[3] *Hist. Casa Real Portuguesa.*



South View of Hampton Court Palace from the River Thames in the Reign of Charles II.
From an old painting.

Queen.[1] The ladies and gentlemen of the Court followed in other barges, and in one was, no doubt, the King's band of musicians, who played lively airs as they were rowed down the Thames. When they reached Teddington, a larger vessel, which drew too much water to have proceeded higher up the river, was in waiting to receive the royal party. This vessel had glass windows, and a crimson awning bordered with gold, for the ladies of honour and other attendants.[2] At Putney was another barge, in which they were to make their public entry. It was fashioned like "an antique-shaped open vessel, covered with a state or canopy of cloth of gold, made in form of a cupola, supported with high Corinthian pillars, wreathed with flowers, festoons, and garlands."[3] In it were four and twenty oarsmen clad in scarlet. All down the river the banks were lined with spectators, who gave the King and Queen a cordial reception; and at every point the procession was joined by barges and boats of all sorts, until, as it neared Westminster, the river was so thick with them that the water could not be seen between.[4] So, at any rate, we are informed by Pepys, who must have had a good view, as he was on the top of the Banqueting House at Whitehall, and who computed the boats of all sorts that he saw in one sight to number at least a thousand. Evelyn, also, witnessed the scene in the barge of the Royal Society; and he gives the following graphic account of what he saw: "I was spectator of the most magnificent triumph that ever floated on the Thames, considering the innumerable boats and vessels, dressed and adorned with all imaginable pomp, but above all the thrones, arches, pageants, and other representations, stately barges of

[1] Echard's *History*, vol. iii., p. 84.
[2] *Hist. Casa Real Portuguesa.*
[3] Evelyn's *Diary.*
[4] See "Aqua Triumphalis; being a true relation of the honourable City of London entertaining their Sacred Majesties on the River of Thames, and welcoming them from Hampton Court to Whitehall, &c. By John Tatham, folio, 1662."

the Lord Mayor and companies, with various inventions, music and peals of ordnance both from the vessels and the shore, going to meet and conduct the new Queen from Hampton Court to Whitehall, at the first time of her coming to town. In my opinion it far exceeded all the Venetian Bucentoras, &c., on the Ascension, when they go to espouse the Adriatic."

All this splendour and rejoicing must have seemed like a keen satire to poor Catherine, after all the humiliations she had lately been subjected to, and the misery she was suffering still.

But there was yet much more that she was to be called upon to endure. Only a fortnight after her triumphal entry into the capital, we hear of her having to drive away from a ball given by the Queen-Mother at Somerset House, in one coach with the King, Lady Castlemaine, and young Crofts (afterwards Duke of Monmouth), the King's illegitimate son by Lucy Waters! Well might she reply to Lady Castlemaine, who bounced into her bed-room one day, as she was at her toilet, saying, impertinently, "I can't think how you can have the patience to sit so long a-dressing;"—well might she reply, "Madam, I have so much reason to use patience, that I can well bear such a trifle."[1]

[1] Pepys' *Diary.*



CHAPTER XX.

HAMPTON COURT UNDER CHARLES II.—JAMES II.

King Charles's occasional Visits to the Palace—Lady Castlemaine's Apartments—The Duc de Monconys' Description of Hampton Court—Outbreak of the Plague—The Court retires to Hampton Court—Pepys at the Palace—"Not invited anywhere to dinner"—Lely paints the Beauties of the Court—Description of those Frail and Lovely Ladies—The Court removes to Salisbury and Oxford—The King and Duke back again at this Palace—Cordial Thanks to Pepys for his gallant Services during the Plague—Also to John Evelyn—Visit of Mandeslo—The Parks—The Upper Lodge in Bushey Park—Cosmo III. Duke of Tuscany joins a Hunting Party here—Description of the Sport—Deer Netting—Cosmo's Account of the Parks, Palace and Gardens—M. Jorevin de Rochford—Charles II. suddenly dissolves Parliament—The Duke of Monmouth forfeits the King's Favour—Anecdote of Charles II. and Verrio—James II.—Canopy under which he received the Papal Nuncio—His Fireback—His Army on Hounslow Heath.

AFTER Charles II.'s long sojourn with his Queen at Hampton Court in the summer of 1662, he rarely came to stay here for any considerable time, as he much preferred to pass his time amid the gaieties and dissipations of Whitehall or Newmarket. Nevertheless, he paid occasional visits here, and the state apartments were always kept ready for his reception; and alterations and improvements were continually being made in and about the Palace. Among

these was the fitting up of a suite of rooms for the use of Lady Castlemaine, who always insisted in being most luxuriously housed in all the Royal palaces.[1]

In the meantime, the Palace was frequently visited by foreigners of distinction, who in this reign came in considerable numbers to travel in England, and of whom several have left us records of their impressions.

Among them was the Duc de Monconys, who drove down here in a coach and six on the 23rd of June, 1663, accompanied by M. de la Molière;[2] and who remarked of the country which he traversed, that it was wonderfully beautiful, like it is everywhere in England. What struck him most in the Palace itself was the mass of towers, turrets, cupolas, pinnacles and ornaments of all sorts which produced a confusion that was not unpleasing. In the garden he noticed the fountain, "composed of four syrens in bronze, seated astride on dolphins, between which was a shell, supported on the foot of a goat. Above the sirens, on a second tier, were four little children, each seated, holding a fish, and surmounting all a large figure of a lady—all the figures being of bronze, but the fountain itself and the basin of marble." This description evidently refers to the same fountain as the one noticed by Evelyn, the statues of which he states to be by Fanelli. The figure at the summit was, according to the Inventory of 1659, a statue of Arethusa: though as she holds a golden apple in her hand, it seems probable that it represents Venus.[3]

It was aftewards moved by William III. into the centre of the great basin in Bushey Park, where it has since been known as "the Diana fountain"—a misnomer, which it probably acquired from the sylvan surroundings of its present position, and which it would now be difficult to correct.

[1] *Harl. MSS.*, No. 1658, Feb., 1666, fol. 138.
[2] *Voyage d'Angleterre.*
[3] See *post*, Appendix C.

De Monconys likewise noticed in the same garden "un grand berceau touffu de hestre" (doubtless the curious bower in the Privy Garden, known as Queen Mary's Bower, which Evelyn describes as being of "Horn-Beam," though it is really "Wych Elm;") "and opposite to it a terrace, along which, from the brick cloister, several little chambers or cabinets of various shapes, round, square, and in the form of crosses, with their little turrets, jut out into the park."

After August, 1662, we do not hear of Charles or his Queen being at Hampton Court until June 29th, 1665, when they retired here from Whitehall,[1] on account of the plague, which had been raging already for some time in London, and which was now rapidly increasing and spreading, the deaths in the capital alone amounting to two thousand a week.[2]

Here the Court remained about a month, in comparative security and isolation; though the King went frequently to Sion to transact business with the Council, which met there for greater safety.[3]

The quarantine between London and Hampton Court was not so strict, however, that it did not allow of Pepys coming down to the Palace occasionally. On Sunday, July 23rd, he notes: "To Hampton Court, where I followed the King to chapel and there heard a good sermon; and after sermon with my Lord Arlington, Sir Thomas Ingram, and others, spoke to the Duke about Tangier, but not to much purpose. I was not invited anywhere to dinner, though a stranger, which did also trouble me; but yet I must remember it is a Court, and indeed where most are strangers; but, however, Cutler carried me to Mr. Marriott's, the housekeeper,[4] and there we had a very

[1] Pepys' *Diary*.
[2] Pepys' *Diary* and Clarendon's *Autobiography*, vol. ii., p. 403.
[3] Evelyn, July 7th. Pepys.
[4] Mr. Richard Marriott was already "Privy Lodging Keeper" at Hampton

good dinner and good company, amongst others Lilly the painter."

It was just about this time that Lely, commissioned by the Duchess of York, was painting the beauties of Charles II.'s Court. "Il emploia," says Du Grammont, "tout son art dans l'exécution. Il ne pourvait travailler à de plus beaux sujets. Chaque portrait parut être un chef-d'œuvre." And, in truth, no more congenial task could have been selected for the pencil of Lely than that of portraying on glowing canvas the sensuous contours and lovely features of the frail and seductive nymphs in the amorous court of the Merry Monarch. For it must be acknowledged that he has succeeded in rendering to perfection that voluptuous expression of blended drowsiness and sweetness, and that air of tender languishment, which reflect so well the characters of these beautiful and charming creatures. Their "night-gowns fastened with a single pin," and the "sleepy eye that spoke the melting soul," would sufficiently have revealed to us their histories, had the memoir writers failed to supply them.

These pictures are now all hung together in the King's Bedchamber at Hampton Court, than which no more appropriate place could have been chosen. It is a real delight to sit in this room and contemplate these charming portraits with Pepy's "Diary," or De Grammont's "Mémoires" in one's hand. One can imagine oneself for a while transported into that mixed but fascinating society—the imperious Lady Castlemaine, with her disdainful lips, her dark flashing eyes,

Court in December, 1660, at which time Simon Bazill was "Clarke of the Workes," and "Tobie Rustick" under-housekeeper (*Harl. MSS.*, No. 1656, fol. 218). Tobias Rustat, to spell his name properly, was also a Yeoman of the Robes to the King. He was a man of great charity and generosity, as well as wealth—his benefactions to the colleges and University of Cambridge amounting to no less than £100,000 (Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, lib. xiv., p. 553).

her rich black hair; the transcendantly lovely Miss Stewart, with her figure of ineffable grace, and her face of entrancing sweetness; Mrs. Hyde, with her half-closed eyes melting in a dreamy tenderness; Lady Falmouth, with her cheeks purpling with the blushes that suffused her lovely face at the slightest word. Here, too, we can see the famous Mrs. Middleton, the first of "professional beauties" in those days, whose picture was painted over and over again by all the fashionable artists, whose engraved portraits, in every attitude and every attire, were exposed for sale in every print-seller's window all over the town; who was followed by a crowd whenever she walked in the Park, who drew every eye upon her when she went to the play, and who even created a flutter of excitement in church when she entered her pew, as honest Pepys faithfully records. Here also are the two Miss Brookes—"toutes deux faites pour donner de l'amour, et pour en prendre"—one afterwards Lady Whitmore, and the other the unfortunate Lady Denham. And above all we can gaze on Lely's masterpiece of portraiture, the picture of the matchless "Belle Hamilton," afterwards Comtesse de Grammont, whose delicately moulded features, beautiful neck, exquisite mouth, and brilliantly expressive eyes, are as vividly perpetuated by the pencil of Lely, as they will be celebrated through all time in the pages of De Grammont.

With regard to the style of Lely's "Beauties," all of them are represented in three-quarters' lengths, in landscapes, or as Walpole expresses it, "trailing fringes and embroidery through meadows and purling streams." Their draperies are disposed with a sort of graceful negligence, which though affected, is not unpleasing; and the free exposure of their busts gave the painter full scope for depicting that delicate softness of the flesh in which he chiefly excelled. They are bare-headed, with their hair arranged in coquettish

little curls on the forehead. As each picture conforms to the same type, it is not surprising that they are all too much alike—a fault, perhaps, inevitable in painting a series of this sort.

To resume our citation from Pepys' Diary. After he had dined with Lely, he went to "the councill-house, but the council began late to sit; so that when I got free, and came back to look for Cutler, he was gone with his coach, without leaving any word with anybody to tell me so; so that I was forced with great trouble to walk up and down looking for him, and at last forced to get a boat to carry me to Kingston."

On the 26th of July the King went down the river for the day to Greenwich and Woolwich, where he was met by Pepys, who came the day after to Hampton Court to see him and the Queen set out for Salisbury, whither they went on account of the increase of the plague in the environs of London. Afterwards he saw the Duke and Duchess of York, who were going northwards, and he kissed the duchess's hand; "and it was the first time I did ever, or did see anybody else, kiss her hand, and it was a most fine white and fat hand. But it was pretty to see the young, pretty ladies dressed like men, in velvet coats, caps with ribbons, and with lace bands, just like men."

The King and Queen did not stay at Salisbury more than a couple of months, after which they removed to Oxford, where Parliament had been summoned to meet.

When the plague had somewhat abated, Charles, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and some of the council came to Hampton Court at the end of January,[1] to transact business, intending to return, after an absence of a few days, to

[1] See Pepys and Evelyn; and 7th *Report of Historical Commission*, p. 485 (Sir H. Verney's Papers). Clarendon, with his usual inaccuracy, says "the end of February."

Oxford, where they had left the Queen and the Duchess. But almost at once after the King's arrival, the plague so rapidly diminished, that there was thought to be no danger in their staying on at Hampton Court, and they had not been many days in the Palace when there came down the indefatigable and ubiquitous Pepys, who, to his great credit be it said, had remained at his post throughout the awful dangers of that terrible time, and upon whom had devolved the whole management of the navy. His visit is thus chronicled in his own diary under date January 28th, 1666: "Took coach, and to Hampton Court, where we find the King, and Duke and lords, all in council; so we walked up and down: there being none of the ladies come and so much the more business I hope will be done. The council being up, out comes the King, and I kissed his hand, and he grasped me very kindly by the hand. The Duke also I kissed his, and he mighty kind." He afterwards went down into one of the courts, and there met the King and the Duke. "And the Duke called me to him, and the King came to me himself, and told me, 'Mr. Pepys,' says he, 'I do give you thanks for your good service all this year, and I assure you I am very sensible of it.' And the Duke of York did tell me with pleasure that he had read over my discourse about pursers, and would have it ordered in my way, and so fell from one discourse to another. I walked with them quite out of the courts into the fields (*i.e.* the Park) and then back."

Next day came the other famous diarist, Evelyn, to pay his respects, and render an account of his services, and was welcomed by the King and Duke with equal gratitude and cordiality. "I went," writes he, "to wait on his Majesty, now returned from Oxford to Hampton Court, where the Duke of Albemarle presented me to him; he ran towards me, and in a most gracious manner gave me his hand to

kisse, with many thanks for my care and faithfullnesse in his service in a time of such great danger, when everybody fled their employments; he told me he was much obliged to me, and said he was several times concerned for me, and the peril I underwent, and did receive my service most acceptably, though in truth I did but do my duty, and O that I had performed it as I ought! After this his Majesty was pleased to talk with me alone, neere an hour, of several particulars of my employment Then the Duke came towards me, and embraced me with much kindnesse, telling me if he had thought my danger would have been so greate, he would not have suffered his Majesty to employ me in that station. Then came to salute me my Lord of St. Albans, Lord Arlington, Sir Wm. Coventrie and severall greate persons after which I got home, not being very well in health."

The King remained on at Hampton Court for about a week,[1] after which he returned to Whitehall, where he was joined by the Queen on the 16th of February,[2] after she had stayed a couple of days here on her way back from Oxford. From Whitehall, in the following September, at the time of the Great Fire of London, the King sent many of his choicest goods by water to Hampton Court for safety.[3]

It was in this year 1666, also, that Mandeslo, the famous traveller, visited this Palace. In the account he gives of it he makes especial mention of some very ancient tapestries illustrative of the "Creation of the World," which was the best designed of all, and which represented the Trinity under the form of three persons attired as bishops, with crowns on their heads, and sceptres in their hands.[4]

[1] Evelyn and Pepys say Feb. 2nd, Clarendon says a fortnight or three weeks, which is another instance of his carelessness.

[2] Pepys' *Diary* and *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II.*, vol. cxlviii., No. 38.

[3] *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. ii., p 154.

[4] Mandeslo's *Voyages*, ii., p. 736.

We have noticed in a preceding chapter that Charles II. took care, almost at once on his accession to the throne, to preserve the game in the parks at Hampton Court, and to keep up the sport of stag-hunting there, for which he often came down from London for the day. On one of these occasions he was entertained at the Upper Lodge by Mr. Progers, for whom, as we have seen, it had been rebuilt and enlarged.[1] The print on page 206 shows the lodge as it appeared about a hundred and fifty years ago, since which it has been considerably altered.[2] The sport, which the Hampton Court preserves afforded, was sometimes enjoyed by distinguished foreigners, one of these being Cosmo III., Duke of Tuscany, who was travelling in England in 1669, and who on the 30th of May set out from London, attended by Lord Philip Howard and Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper, and followed by the gentlemen of his suite, to visit the Palace and witness the stag-hunting in the park. In the account that was written by his secretary, Magalotti,[3] there is an interesting description of the "sport"—if, after reading it, we can consider that word applicable to what took place.

"On first entering the park, he was met by Prince Rupert, who was likewise come thither for the diversion of seeing the hunt. After the usual compliments his highness went forward, Prince Rupert remaining in the place appointed for him under the shade of a tree, on a stage a little raised from the ground, which is the same where the King stands to see this amusement. When the huntsmen had stretched out the nets after the German manner, inclosing with them a considerable space of land, they let the dogs loose upon four deer which were confined there, who as soon as they saw them took to flight; but as they had not the power of going

[1] *Ante*, p. 205, and also *State Papers, Domestic, Charles II.*, vol. cii., No. 27.

[2] It is now in the occupation of Lady Alfred Paget.

[3] Magalotti's *Travels of Cosmo III. in England*, London, 1821, p. 208.

which way they pleased, they ran round the net, endeavouring by various cunning leaps to save themselves from being stopped by the dogs, and continued to run in this manner for some time *to the great diversion of the spectators!* till at last the huntsmen, that they might not harass the animals superfluously, drawing a certain cord, opened the nets in one part, which was prepared for that purpose, and left the deer at liberty to escape.

"Having walked during the deer-hunting over the park, which is rendered truly delightful by its numerous canals and amenities of every kind, his highness repaired to the Palace to view the building."

The aspect of the park at this period, with the canal and the recently planted avenues of lime, can be well imagined from the contemporary picture now at Hampton Court, of which we have given an engraving and a description on page 218.

With the Palace Cosmo III. was much pleased, observing in a long description he gives of it, that "although the more elegant orders of architecture are not to be found in it, so as to make it a regular structure according to the rules of art, yet it is, on the whole, a beautiful object to the eye. The numerous towers and cupolas, judiciously disposed at irregular distances all over the vast pile of building, form a most striking ornament to it, whether viewed near or at a distance."

"The gardens are divided into very large, level and well kept walks, which, separating the ground into different compartments, form artificial pastures of grass, being themselves formed by espalier trees, partly such as bear fruit and partly ornamental ones, but all adding to the beauty of the appearance. This beauty is further augmented by fountains made of slate after the Italian style, and distributed in different parts of the garden, whose *jets d'eaux* throw up the water in

various playful and fanciful ways. There are also in the gardens some snug places of retirement in certain towers, formerly intended as places of accommodation for the King's mistresses."

Another foreign visitor, M. Jorevin de Rocheford, who visited Hampton Court about the same period, namely, 1672, mentions "the large pavilion on the banks of the Thames," and the park filled with all sorts of beasts of the chace."

Charles II., during the latter half of his reign, came but rarely to Hampton Court, and never resided here for any length of time. One of his recorded visits took place at the end of August, 1669, when he retired to this palace with his brother, the Duke of York, on receiving the news of the death of their mother, Queen Henrietta Maria.[2] Another of his visits of which we find mention occurred in the end of June, 1679,[3] when at a council held in the Palace, Charles, in opposition to the large majority of those present, suddenly turned to his chancellor, and to the dismay of Shaftesbury and his party, ordered him to prepare a proclamation for the dissolution of the then Parliament and the calling together of a new one.[4]

The House of Commons thus summarily dismissed was the one which had passed the bill for the exclusion of James II. from the succession to the throne, and which was going on, to the extreme vexation of the Court, to enquire into the corruption and bribery of members of Parliament, when their activity was thus abruptly terminated. This unexpected action of the King's, came as a severe blow to

[1] *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv., p. 574. In 1672.

[2] *Memoires of Queen Henrietta Maria*, 1671, p. 89.

[3] *Diary of Henry Sidney*, p. 21, and *Seventh Report of Historical Commission*, p. 473 (Sir H. Verney's papers.) Charles was at this palace again on Nov. 14; ditto, p. 185.

[4] Temple's *Works*, vol. ii., p. 511-512.

Shaftesbury and the popular and anti-Catholic party, and indirectly to the Duke of Monmouth, who had attached himself to them for the purpose of furthering his own ambitious project of being recognised as the King's legitimate son, and the heir apparent to the throne, to the exclusion of the Duke of York. But Monmouth's aspirations, though for a time flattered by the great affection Charles bore him, and by the favours he heaped upon him, were not destined to be fulfilled. Soon after this, his overbearing conduct exciting his father's deep displeasure, he was ordered to surrender his post of commander-in-chief, and, one by one, all his other offices were taken from him, and he was directed to retire to the Continent. After a while he was suffered to return to England; but in 1681, at a Council held at Hampton Court on May 23rd, an order was issued by King Charles that "all the King's servants and all such as had dependence on him, should not keep company with the Duke of Monmouth or frequent the said Duke for the time to come," on account of his having had the audacity to threaten Lord Halifax for giving advice hostile to him at the Council board.[1]

Charles II. continued to the end of his reign to pay occasional flying visits here;[2] and to his latter years belongs an anecdote told of Verrio the painter, who had done much decorative work for the King in the way of painting ceilings and staircases. Verrio, it seems, was very extravagant, and kept a most expensive table, so that he often pressed the King for money with a freedom, which his Majesty's own frankness indulged. "Once at Hampton Court, when he had but lately received an advance of £1000, he found the King in such a circle that he could not

[1] Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 264.

[2] He held councils in the palace on May 23rd, June 17th and 23rd, 1682, and again in 1683, and on July 24th, 1684. See *Report of Historical Commission*, pp. 352, 363, 405, and 410. (Sir F. Graham's papers at Netherby.)

approach him. He called out: 'Sire, I desire the favour of speaking to your Majesty.' 'Well, Verrio,' said the King, 'what is your request?' 'Money, Sir, money; I am so short of cash, that I am not able to pay my workmen; and your Majesty and I have learnt by experience, that pedlars and painters cannot give long credit.' The King smiled and said he had but lately ordered him £1000. 'Yes, Sir,' replied he, 'but that was soon paid away, and I have no gold left.' 'At that rate,' said the King, 'you would spend more than I do, to maintain my family.' 'True,' answered Verrio, 'but does your Majesty keep an open table as I do?'"[1]

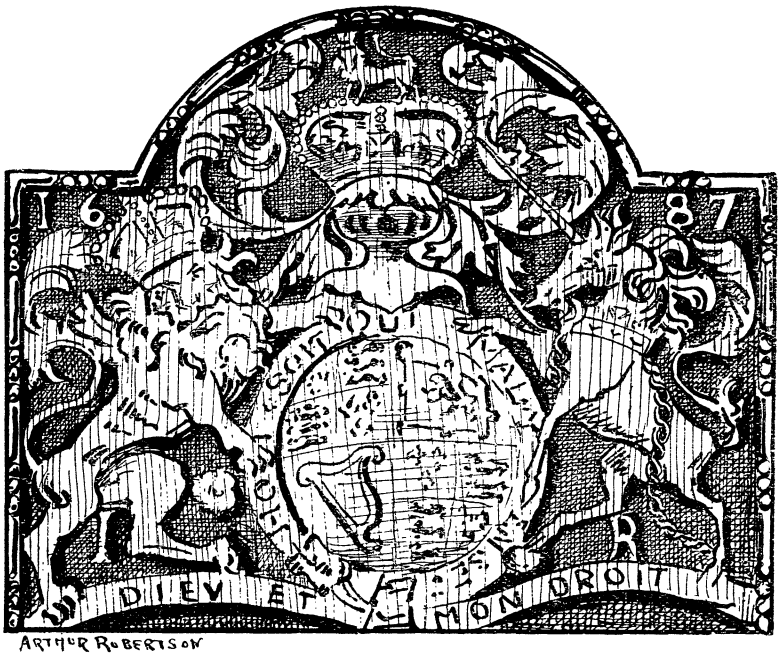
The reign of James II. was, as far as the history of Hampton Court is concerned, an uneventful one; for it is not certain whether, as King, he ever passed a single night in the Palace; though he seems to have held a Council here about the 29th of May, 1687, at which "the militia was put down and the licensing of ale-houses was put in other hands than the justices of the peace."[2]

James, however, was frequently in the neighbourhood of Hampton Court, namely at Hounslow Heath, which adjoins the outskirts of Bushey Park, and on which was encamped during the year 1687 the army of 16,000 men, on whose support he relied to carry out his schemes against the liberties of the English people.[3] But his armed force was regarded, by his subjects, with little else but derision; of which we have a good example in the contemptuous irony of the following lines, published at the time :—

"Near Hampton Court there lies a Common,
Unknown to neither man nor woman;

[1] Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting.*
[2] 7th *Report of Historical Commission*, p. 504 (Sir H. Verney's papers).
[3] See *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. i., p. 230.

The Heath of Hounslow it is styled ;
Which never was with blood defiled,
Though it has been of war the seat
Now three campaigns, almost complete.
Here you may see great James the Second
(The greatest of our Kings he's reckoned)
A hero of such high renown,
Whole nations tremble at his frown ;
And when he smiles men die away
In transports of excessive joy." [1]



Old Cast-Iron Fire-back bearing James II.'s Arms and Initials.

We have a reminiscence, also, of this reign in the canopy,

[1] From a collection of songs. See Mr. Henry Morley's *Library of English Literature.*

now in the Queen's Audience Chamber, which was removed here from Windsor Castle, and under which King James there received the Papal Nuncio—an event which gave such deep offence to his Protestant subjects—and another in the old cast-iron fire-back in the Queen's Gallery, which bears the royal arms, his initials I.R., and the date 1687.

With this date, on the eve of the Revolution and the advent of William III., who opens a new era in the history of the Palace, by his great alterations and additions to the buildings, we may fitly close this second volume. In our third we shall conclude the History of Hampton Court by bringing the reader to the Jubilee Year of the reign of her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.

APPENDIX A.

(See pages 167 and 171, and Plan, page 1, and Map, page 168.)

SURVEY OF HAMPTON COURT MANSION HOUSE AND PARKS MADE BY THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONERS IN 1653.

Preserved in the Record Office. Middlesex, No. 32.

A Survey of the Mansion Howse commonly called Hampton Court in the County of Midd̃x, with the Barnes, Stables, Outhouses, Gardens, Orchard, Yards, Courts and Backsydes belonging unto or used and enjoyed with the sayd Mansion howse; togeather with the Parke, comõnly called *Howse Parke*, The *Course*, and *Meadows*, thereto adjoyning, The *Hare Warren*, wth Two other Parkes, the one comonly called *The Middle Parke* and the other *Bushie Parke*, And all *Lands*, *Buildings*, *Woods*, *Timber*, and other Apurteñces (as yett unsold) to the foremencõned pr̃mss or any Part of them belonging; made and Returned, &c.

All that Large Capitall Messuage or *Mansion Howse* of the King, comonly called Hampton Court with the Rights, Members and Apurtencẽs thereof, situate, lying and beeing in the County of Midd̃x neere unto the River of Thames, betweene the way Leading

from the Towne of Kingston vpon Thames in the County of Surrey (over Kingston bridge) to the Towne of Hampton in the County of Midd̃x and the River of Thames aforesayd; Consisting of the severall Perticulars heereafter menc̃oned. That is to say

One *greene court*, inclosed, beeing the *outer court* of the sayd howse, and lying west thereof, conteyning 3 roodes and 27 perches, more or lesse.

One range of building, beeing the *front* of the mancion howse aforesayd, *westward*, built with brick and covered with leade, conteyning in length, from north to south (excluding the north and south wings of the said buildings), 152 foote of assize, or thereabouts, in the middst whereof is the *first greate gate*, or entrance into the sayd howse, leading through an *arched bridge built over the moate* that lieth betweene the saydd range of building and the outer greene court aforesayd.

One other greene court, beeing the *first court* within the sayd howse, conteyning in length, from north to south, 152 ffoote, and in breadth, 144 ffoote.

One range of brick building, covered part with tyle and part with leade, standing on the north syde or end of the last mentioned court, containing in length, from west to east, 184 ffoote, and in breadth 24 ffoote, or thereabouts.

One range of the like building, scituate on the south of the sayd court, opposite to the last mentioned range, and of like dimension.

One piece of grownd adjoyning on part of the backsyde or South pt̃. of the last menc̃oned Range, and in other part upon the south parts of the two next menc̃oned Ranges, beeing parcell of a certeyne garden or yard commonly called or known by the name of the *Pond Garden*, otherwise the Pond Yard, consisting of one small slip of ground ranging behind the buildings aforesayd 120 fft from West to East, and beeing in breadth from the south pt of the sayd buildings to a lowe wall there 20 ffoote, and of one other piece of grownd (beeing the greatest part of the Pond yard or Pond Garden aforesayd) conteyning from the North East corner of the sayd lowe wall (ranging southwards by a Diall standing in the sd̃ yard) to the Greate wall adjoyning to a certayne way by the River syde called *The Towing place*, 240 ffoote or thereabouts.

One range of building on the east part of the sayd second greene court, and fronting the entrance thereinto, built with brick, and covered (for the most part) with leade, conteyning in length, from north to south, 203 ffoote, breadth 17 ffoote, or thereabouts, in the midst whereof is the gate or passage into the court or yard next mentioned.

One *other court or yard, paved with stone* (*with a ffountayne standing in midst thereof*), conteyning in length, from north to south, 144 ffoot, and in breadth 80 ffeet, or thereabouts.

One Range of Brick Building, covered also (for the most part) with leade, situate on the south end of the sayd Stone Court, being in breadth 20 ffte or thereabouts.

One Range of Building with severall aditional Buildings to the same adjoyning, Built also with brick and covered with leade, situate on the north end of the sayd Stone Court and oposite unto the last menconed Range.

One Range of Building being the Range ffronting the aforesayd passage into the sayd Stone Court situate on the East syde thereof, Built with brick and covered with leade, and being in breadth 25 ffoote or thereabouts, with a passage or way under the midst thereof into the next mencõned Court.

One other court, commonly called the *Cloyster Greene Court*, conteyning in length, from north to south, 104 ffoot, and in breadth 98 ffoot.

One Range of Brick building covered with Leade lying on the West syde of the sayd Cloyster Court, conteyning 40 fft in breadth or thereabouts, the back pt whereof adjoynes to the back part of the last mencõned Range of Building lying on the East syde of the Stone Court aforesayd.

One Range of Building built with Bricke and covered with lead situate on y^{e} north pt of y^{e} Cloyster Court cont. in br. 32 ft or thereabouts.

One Range of Brick Building and severall other buildings adjoyning to the same, covered part with Tile and pt with Leade situate on the south of the sayd Cloyster Court, and conteyning 52 ffoote in breadth or thereabouts.

One large piece of ground or garden, cõmonly called the *Privy Garden*, lying on the backsyde or south part of the last mencõned Range of building, togeather with one other garden, commonly

called the *Mount Garden*, lying on the south syde of the said Privy-Garden, both which parcells of ground or garden do contain three acres and one Roode more or lesse.

One piece or parcell of ground measured to be taken out of the park comly called the *Howse Park*, lying on the East part of the last mencõned gardens, and of a certain building called the *Still Howse* and the orchard belonging thereto, which piece of ground is to be fenced (upon a streight lyne) from a broken place in the wall that devides ye sayd howse p̃k from the Course, beeing 264 ffoote from the East End of the sayd mansion howse and of like measure from the South East corner of the wall of Mount Garden aforsd to the pale that fenceth the sayd park on the south and conteyneth 4 acres 3 Roo : and 26 pch more or lesse.

One Range of building built with brick and covered with Leade standing on the East pt of the aforesayd Cloyster Court conteyñ in breadth thirty two ffoote or thereabouts, under which is a way or passage into a large peece of pasture ground comonly called the Course.

Severall other buildings, covered part of them with leade, and part with tile, togeather with the severall yards or courts lying betweene and amongst the sayd buildings, which buildings and yards or courts do abutt east upon the said Course, north upon a parcel of grownd commonly called the *Paddock*, west on a garden or p. of ground known by the name of the *Kitchin Garden*, and doe adjoyne south to the back part of the range of building (before mentioned), which standeth on the north part of the Cloyster Court.

One long peece of grownd measured to be taken out of the Course afore mensioned lying on the East pt of the buildings of the sayd Mansion Howse and of the Paddock aforesayd, which peece of ground is to be fenced upon a straight lyne, one end whereof is to bee sett 264 fft Eastward from the remotest p̃t. of the North East corner of the pale of the sayd Paddock, and the other one to bee sett at like distance from the west end of the wall that divides the house pk and Course aforesayd and doth conteyne 7 acres more or less.

One Long Range of Buildings with sondrey aditionall buildings neere or adjoyning to the same (wherein is included the North Wing of the ffront of the sayd Mansion howse) lying behind or on the

North parts of the North Ranges of the said Greene Court and Stone Court aforesayd.

One parcell of ground, commonly called the *Kitchen Garden*, lying behind the last mensoned buildings abutting west upon part of the Tiltyard wall, and north upon a parcell of ground called the *Ould Orchard*, cont. three acres more or lesse.

The materialls of all the before mensioned Buildings and of all such thinges as are valluable upon any part of the severall parcells of ground, Courts, yards, or Gardens before described and sett forth :—

We vallue to bee worth upon the plase (ouer and above demolish-ing charges) Seaven thousand, Seaven hundred and Seventy seaven pounds, thirteen shillings five pence.

The Ground and Soyle aforesayd (when it shall be cleared of the sayd buildings, or layd for conveniency to severall pts thereof) will bee worth yearly thirty six pounds.

All that parcell of ground with th'apurtenances commonly called the *Paddock* lying on the East pt of the Ould Orchard next mencõned.

And all that peece of grownd with the apurtenañces coñonly known by the name of *the Old Orchard* lying East from pt of the Tilt yard thereafter mencõned, both which parcells of grownd are fenced on the north with part of the brick wall that standeth on the south of the high way leading from Kingston to Hampton and doe conteyne 8 Acres 2 Roodes more or lesse.

(Note thus :) The ffence betwene the old orcyard and kitchin garden is to be made by the purchaser of the sd old orchard.

And all that prcell of pasture ground with the apurtñces commonly called *The Tilt Yard* inclosed with a good brick wall abutting westward upon the way that Leadeth by the Greene to Hampton Court fferry and conteyning nine acres 1 roode more or lesse.

And all those *five buildings or towers* with their appurtenances built with brick and covered with Leade, three of which Towers are standing in the sayd Tilt Yard and the other two part in the sayd Tilt Yard and part in the Old Orchard aforesayd. Which these parcells of ground last mentioned do conteyne together 17 Ac.

3 Roodes, worth by the yeare (the benefitt of the sayd wall considered) Thirty-five Pounds.

The materialls of the buildings and Towers aforesayd with the Trees growing in the sayd old Orchard are vallued in gross at three hundred eighty six pounds 9 sh. 6d.

Memd. It will not be convenient or safe to sell the grounds and prmss last mensioned before the buildings and prmss first before vallued are disposed of.

All that Wing of brick building beeing the *South wing*[1] of the ffront of the sayd Mansion howse and all that *Greate howse of Easement*[2] standing over the Moate, And other Roomes adjoyning thereto, togeather with a small dwelling house heretofore belonging to the Garden Keeper, with a small stable and Coach house adjoyning,[3] And all that litle garden lying on the North part of the sayd Wing of building togeather with one peece of ground in forme of a Triangle, to be taken out of the Outer Greene Court of the sayd mansion howse by a straight lyne from the North West corner of the wall of the sayd Garden to the East end of the Stile coming from the water syde to the sayd outer Court.

And all such Yards or Courts as lie before any of the sayd buildings towards the River syde, with so much of a certayne yard or garden, commonly called the Pond Yard or Pond Garden, as shall range from the North East corner of a lowe brick wall standing 20 fft from the south syde of the sayd Mansion house (by a diall standing in the sayd garden) to the Greate Wall of the sayd Garden South.

All which we vallue to be worth yearely, Twenty pounds.

Memd. The ffence that must divide the sayd Pond yard or Pond Garden is to be made by the purchasar of the last mensoned prmss.

All those severall Buildings and Towers, wth their apurtenĉes built with brick and covered with Leade, commonly called the *Feather Howse* and the *Hott Howse* with the *Store Cellars* (betweene the sayd houses), formerly called the old *Bowling Alley*, And all that slipp of

[1] Now in the occupation of Her Royal Highness Princess Frederica.

[2] No longer in existence.

[3] Apparently the rooms now partly occupied by her Royal Highness Princess Frederica, and partly by the gardener of the Privy Garden.

ground lying on the South part and before the sayd buildings next unto a certayne way by the River syde called the Towing plase. The materialls whereof we vallued at the grosse summe of 333li. 01s. 10d.

The ground whereon the sayd buildings stand with the slipp of ground aforesayd worth by the yeare tenn shillings.

Memd. The wall round about the prmss is vallued herewith.

All those brick buildings covered with Leade with them every of their apurtenñces comonly called or known by the severall names of the *Stillhowse* and *The Water Gallery*, pt of which buildings doe stand over the aforesayd Towing place, close to the River syde, and all yards, Courts, and Gardens belonging to and used with the sayd buildings, or any of them. All which prmss doe abutt upon the Mount Garden wall to the North and the howse park *West.*

The severall Materialls of and belonging to the sayd Buildings amount to 504 : 04 : 04.

The soyle cleared of the sayd Materialls p ann. 33sh. 4d.

All that office or Building with the yard and apurtenñces thereto belonging, heretofore used for a *wood yard,* situate on the North syde of the sayd Towing place and in the Outer greene Court of the sayd Mansion house, having the sayd Greene Court on the East and North pts thereof p ann. ffive pounds.

All those three severall buildings with the yards and other apurtenñces belonging to all and every of them, heretofore used as a *Privy Bakehouse* and *Poultry office* and a *Scalding house*[1] situate in the sayd Outer Greene Court, having the sayd Court north, the foresayd Woodyard office East, and the Towing place South, worth togeather yearly xili.

Memd. We have comprehended the Benefitt and accomodat. of the Towing plase to all ffive last vallued pcells (before their grownds and howsing respectively) within the sayd vallues.

All that Tenement with the apurtenñces comonly called *the Toye,* now used for a Victualling House, scituate neere unto Hampton Court fferry, adjoyning on or neere The South west corner of the

[1] These buildings were opposite the present barracks ; but were pulled down about twenty years ago.

wall of the Outer Greene Court of the Mansion howse aforesayd, and in the present occupation of M^r^ Mark Gibson, worth by the yeare seaven pounds.[1]

All that Messuage or dwelling howse, with the Yards, Gardens, and other aprtnes to the same belonging, built part with brick, part with Timber, and covered with Tile, situate upon or neere to the Greene comonly called *Hampton Court Greene*, on the west syde of the way to the *fferry plase*, conteyning in Length 133 ffoote of Assize, and in breadth 84 fft, or thereabout, in the present tenure of M^r^ Thomas Smyhthsbye, and worth by the year xv^li^.

Memd. To this house there is to be layd 20 fft in breadth before it and 12 fft in breadth all along the east part of it, beeing pcell of the Greene aforesayd.

All that *dwelling house* and Garden thereto adjoyning situate on the west pt of the last mensõnd Mess: and heretofore belonging to the Survyor Gen^rll^ of the late K^g^ workes being in length (with the sayd garden) 140 ffoote in breadth next the foresayd Greene 44 ffoote or thereabout, unto which also is to be layd 20 ffoote of the sayd Greene before the ffront thereof, and then it will be worth yearly six pounds.

All those severall messuages, Tenements, or dwelling houses, with their and every of their apurtens, heretofore used or enjoyed by the master carpenter, Mason, Locksmyth, and Clearke of the workes to the late Kinge. And all those stables with the apurtes to the sayd Tenements neere adjoyning, comonly called *The Qucenes*[2] *stables*, all which tenements and Stables are situate on the west of the dwelling howse and Garden last before vallued, having the aforesayd Greene called Hampton Court Greene on the North, and are worth in the whole yearly £26.

Memd. The last mensõned premises are to have layd before

[1] The "Toy" inn was a picturesque building in the same style as the Palace, standing on the now unoccupied piece of ground, next to the "Trophy Gates" entrance to the Palace, and opposite the present "Mitre" Hotel. It was not pulled down till 1857. It is said, on what authority I know not, to have been used as a barrack during the Commonwealth for Cromwell's soldiers. Tokens of the house during the seventeenth century are still extant. —*History of Sign Boards*, 8th edition, p. 505.

[2] Still existing. See p. 314 and 315 of vol. i.

them (out of the fore sayd greene), 35 fft in breadth at the east end and 40 fft in breadth at the west end of them.

All those severall dwelling houses, tenements, *Great Barne* Stable, and other Buildings, with their and every of their apurtnces, scituate westward from the Tenements and premises last mensõned and abutting upon Hampton Court Greene north, bounded with an Old Barne and certayne meadow grounds in the tenure of S^{r} John Hippesley or his assigns West, and with a narrow way or passage by the syde of the Q^{s} Stables on the east, conteyning in length from East to West 336 fft of Assize, and in breadth 170 fft or thereabout p. An. xxviii^{li}.[1]

Mn^{d}. There is to be layd to and before the sayd prmiss respectively 40 ff in breadth out of the Greene aforesayd.

All that Great Greene or pcell of pasture ground comonly called *Hampton Court Greene* Lying and beeing on the West syde of the wall of the Tilt Yard aforesayd and on the South pt of the Midle pke hereafter mensõned, which greene or p̃cell of ground was heretofore Grazed as A stinted pasture by severall officers of the late King according to their respective allowances, and doth conteyne in the whole (over and above what is to be taken out of the same as is before pticularly mencõned) 29 Acres more or less vallued, with respect to the severall Wayes which must be continued through the same at by the yeare Nine Pounds.

All that pcell of Impaled or enclosed ground, with the apurtenances (except those after excepted) commonly called or known by the name of the *House Parke*, lying and beeing neere unto the foresayd Capitall Messuage or Mansion House, between a large peece of Inclosed pasture ground comonly called *The Course*, and A certayne way or passage by the side of the River of Thames, comonly known by the name of the Towing place. And all that Large messuage or Lodge, with the Barnes, Stables, and Outhouses thereto belonging, standing neere or adjoyning to the Brick wall that divideth the sayd Howse Parke from the howse aforesayd. And all those two other small *Lodges* or Tenements with their appurtenances

[1] These premises seem to have been the site of the present "Cardinal Wolsey" and "Henry VIII." public-house.

situate and being within the sayd Park. And all Timber Trees, and other Trees, woods, underwoods, shrubbs, and bushes, Deer, or wild beasts, comodities, privileges, franchises, Immunities, advantages, and all other apurtenances to the sayd Parke and Premises last mentioned, or to any of them of right belonging and appertaining. Which sayd parcell of Inclosed Ground doth conteyne (over and above one small parcell to be taken out of the same hereafter excepted) 363 Acres 3 Roodes more or less, and is vallued to be worth upon Improvement yearly Two Hundred and £43 10*s.*

Out of which parke or prcell of ground there is to excepted so much as is before sett forth to be Layd to the Mansion house aforesayd, the ffense to be made by the purchaser of the Parke and premises last mentioned.

The materialles of the Lodge and other Buildings within the sayd Park are vallued in Grosse at £184 19*s.* 8*d.*

The trees, woods, and Bushes there at £163 15*s.*

The Deer in the sayd parke reckoned to be in number 199, at one hundred and ninety-nine pounds.

All that Large peece or parcell of Inclosed Pasture ground with the appurtenances (except those hereafter excepted) commonly called or known by the name of the Course, otherwise *Hampton Court Course*, ffenced on the North part thereof with a brick wall that standeth on the south side of the highway leading from Kingston to Hampton Court, and ffenced on the south part thereof also with a brick wall that devideth the sayd Course from the House Park aforesayd. And all that little Building scituate within the sayd peece of ground neere the Great Lodge of the house park last mencioned, usually called *The Standing*. And all trees, woods, bushes, and all other apurtenances (except so much of the sayd Course to be fenced by the purchaser thereof) as is before layd out to goe with the mansion house aforesaid, and two little Courts (paled in and used with the Great Lodge before mentioned) to the sayd pcell of ground or *Course* in any wise belonging or apertaining. All which doth conteyne over and above the excepted premises, One hundred 44 acres more or less vallued by the year at one hundred and seaven Pounds.

The Trees, Bushes, and little building aforesayd vallued in grosse at £54.

All those three Meadows or Several parcells of meadow ground, with their and every of their appurtenances, commonly called or known by the several names of *the King's Meade, the Middle Meade,* and the *Upper Meade,* Sett, Lyinge, and being betweene sertayne howses and buildings with the backsydes belonging to some of them, pcell of a certayne hamblett commonly called Kingston Wick in the County of Mdx. and the two last menconed pcells of ground, known by the names of the Course and Howse Parke, and abutting southwards upon the River of Thames. All which pcells of Meadowe ground do conteyne together ninety one Acres, 1 Roode, more or less, worth per ann. Eighty Eight pounds.

The Trees standing and growing in one of the said meadowes called King's Meade are worth Tenn Pounds.

All those severall parcells of meadow grounds with their apurtenances commonly called The Tenn Acres and the five acres peece, lying and beeing on the West Part of Upper Meade aforesayd, having the aforesayd house pke Northwards and the aforesayd Towing Place southwards, and contayning Eighteen Acres more or less worth yearly Eighteen pounds.

Memorandum. The fee of the last mensioned meadows was purchased with the Honor of Hampton Court, but the present Interest of and in the premises was allowed to M^{r} W^{m} Smythsbie during his life as Keeper of the Privy Lodgings and Standing Wardrobe at Hampton Court, and expressed accordingly, so that the purchase will be only for and during the life of the said Wm.

Memord. The benefitt of the foresayd pc̃. of ground commonly called the Towing place, is to belong to the purchaser of the premises lying before any part of the same respectively.

All that large piece or parcell of Course ground with the appurtenances, commonly called or known by the name of the *Hare Warren,* lying and beeing within the parrish of Hampton, in the County of Mddx, bounded Westwarde with the Wall belonging to the middle Parke hereafter mentioned, northwards and Eastwards with the common fields and other grounds belonging to Teddington and Kingston Wick, and southwards with a high brick wall belonging to the premises and conteyning in the whole Three

hundred and eighty acres more or lesse, vallued to be worth yearly ffowre-score pounds.

The trees, wood and bushes upon the sayd peeces of ground value at ffifty pounds.

The Middle Parke.—All that inclosed prcell of ground with the appurtenances, commonly called the *Middle Parke*, lying and being between the Hare Warren last mentioned and the Parke called Bushie Pke next mensioned, bounded northwards with parcell of the Great Heath, commonly called Hounslow Heath, and southwards with Hampton Court greene before mentioned. And all that large dwelling house or lodge, with the *Barnes, Stables, Outhouses*, and other appurtenances, standing towards that syde of the Parke which borders upon Hounslow Heath aforesaid. And all Timber Trees and other Trees, Woods, underwoods, Bushes, Shrubbs, Wild Beastes, and all other commodities, and advantages, privileges, ffranchises, and Immunities, with their and every of theire appurtenances to the forsayd Parke and premises, or to any pt. or parcell of their belonging or aperteyning. Which sayd parcell of ground or parke doth conteyne 370 acres 1 rood more or less, and is vallued to be worth upon Improvement yearly £225.

The materialls of the Lodges and Outhouses thereto belonging, amounts in grosse to the somme of one Hundred eighty four pounds 15*s.*

The timber trees with other trees, wood, and Bushes are vallued togeather at Three Hundred and twelve pounds, three shillings and four pence.

The Deer or wild beasts within the sayd Parke reckoned to be in number seventy, vallued at seventy pounds.

Bushie Parke.—All that parcell of Impaled ground with the fixtures, members and apurtenances thereof, commonly called *Bushie Parke*, situate, lying, and beeing in the pish. of Hampton in the County of Middx, between the Highway Leading by the River of Thames from Hampton town to Hampton Courte, and the Great Heath, commonly called Hounslow Heath, conteyning altogether three hundred 50 Acres, 03 R. 16 P., more or less, consisting of the pticulars following, That is to say,

One parcell of Inclosed ground commonly called the *Old Parke*,

lying neere and adjoinying upon pt of Hownslow Heath aforesayd, wherein is scituate the messuage or dwelling house in the tenure of Sir John Hippesley, commonly called the Greater Lodge, consisting of a hall, a faire parlor, a kitchen, a pantry, and other convenient Roomes belowe stayres, seven Lodging roomes above stayres, with a Large Barne, Stable, and other outhouses, belonging to the same, which sayd parcel of ground doth conteyne one hundred 83 acres 21 perches more or less, worth upon improvement one Hundred and two pounds.

The materialls of the sayd Lodge distinctly calculated amounts to One Hundred £59 10*s.* 4*d.*

The Trees and Bushes of all sorts whithin the sayd Old Parke amounts to Six Hundred £20 6*s.* 8*d.*

The Deere belonging to the same accounted to be but nine and twenty, are vallued at twenty-nine pounds.

The New Park Part.—One peece of Inclosed ground parcell of the new ground taken into the foresayd parke lying between the sayd Old Parke and the highway last mencioned next unto the sayd Towne of Hampton, wherein standeth a small Lodge with a Barne and yard belonging to the same, and conteyneth together twenty three Acres 2 Roo. and 23 pch. more or less, worth per Acre Three and Twenty Pounds 15/.

The Trees standing in the sayd prcell of grownd are valued at £25.

The New Parke other part.—One other peece or pcell of Inclosed grownd beeing the remayning pt. of the sayd new grownd lately taken into the sayd pke. lying betweene the pcell of ground last mensoned, and Hampton Courte Greene aforesayd, and abutting southwards upon the sayd way Leading from Hampton towne to Hampton Court, Northwards upon the old parke aforesayd, and conteyneth one Hundred and forty four acres 12 pch. more or lesse vallued to be worth nearly One Hundred and Fifteen Pounds.

There are Yong Elmes growing upon the last mencioned peeces, worth twenty pounds. And all liberties, privillidges, ffranchises, Immunities, Commodities, and advantages, with their and every of their apurteñces, to all the three last mensoned pcells of ground or to any of them of right belonging and apurteyning.

Memd. The said pke called Bushie Pke is at present divided into 3 parts, as the same is before sett forth, and finding the sayd divi-

sion to be rather advantageous than prejudicial to the Commonwealth, we have so returned it.

All that peece or parcell of pasture ground, comonly knowen by the name of Conduitt Close, lying neere or adjoyning to the high way leading from Hampton Town to Cheston, and cont. three Rhoodes more or less, worth p. acr. 22*s*.

Memd. There is standing upon the sayd peece of ground a conduitt Heade and Conserve for conveyance of water to Hampton Court house, which, with the pipes and watercourses passing from the same is (by the Act) reserved.

William Smithsby his clayme.—William Smisby, Es^{r} (by pattent from the late King Charles, dated at Westminster the 15th of Nov^{r} in the 4th of his Raigne) claymeth to hold the Office of Keeping of the Privy Lodgings and wardrobe within the Honour of Hampton Court, with all wages, ffees, proffitts, Advantages, and Emoluments to the sayd Office incident, or in any wages belonging together with the ffee or standing wages of 12^{d} a day to be pd. out of the Exchequer q̃terly during the natural lyfe of the said William.

William Hogan his Clayme.—William Hogan, by letters pattent of the late King James, dated the 12th day of ffeb. in the first of his Reigne, Claymeth to hold the Office of Keeping the two little new gardens at Hampton Court next adjoyning to the Thames syde, and the distilling of all hearbes waters, etc., together with the distilling house and other howses within the sayd gardens as well above stayres as beneath, and the late Bowling Ally adjoyning thereto, and also One Annuity for Annual Fee of Fortie pounds by the yeare, to be payd out of the Reseits of the Exchequer at the fouer most usuall ffeasts by equall portons, for and during the naturall lyves of the sayd William Hogan, and of Anne Hogan his wyfe, and of Charles Hogan his sonne, and the lyfe of the longest of either of them.

Both which claymes were referred to the directions of the Act for of the prmises.

Totall of the Annual Values in this Survey doe amount unto.	An. 120^{li} 00 04
Totall of the grosse Values is	Gr. 10765 19 09

APPENDIX B.

(See page 172.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE CALENDARS OF STATE PAPERS OF THE TIME OF THE COMMONWEALTH, RELATING TO THE SALE OF THE MANORS AND PARKS OF HAMPTON COURT IN 1653, AND THEIR REPURCHASE BY THE STATE FOR THE USE AND OCCUPATION OF THE PROTECTOR OLIVER CROMWELL.

Vol. XXXVII., No. 83. *June* 13*th*, 1653.

"Mr. Thurloe to bring in an instruction authorising the trustees for sale of the late King's lands to let out the parks about Hampton Court, and the houses belonging to them, at the best advantage."

Vol. XLII., No. 51. *Dec.* 20, 1653.

(2) Order that Sir W^{m} Roberts and Edw. Cressett treat with those persons who have bought the parks, hare warren, meadows, &c. of Hampton Court, for their surrender to the commonwealth on reasonable terms, annexing:—

No. 52. Their report thereon—"We treated with Edmund Blackwell, goldsmith and jeweller, who contracted for Bushy Park 15

Nov. 1653, at the rent of £408 15*s.* a year, and for materials, timber, deer, &c. to the gross value of £915 17*s.* The rent being sold at 14 years' purchase came to £5,722 10*s.*, so that the total of the purchase was £6,638 7*s.*"

Of these he reserved to himself the New Park, valued at £115 a year, which cost him £1,635, for which he demands £450 profit. Part of New Park, 23 acres, he sold to M^r^. Casewell, of Hampton, for £407 10*s.*—£53 more than it cost him; this is paid for and conveyed. He sold the meadows to his brother, John Backwell, for £1,550—£308 more than it cost him, and old Bushy Park to M^r^ Woolmer, of Gracious Street, for £1,528—£100 more than it cost him; and the hare warren to M^r^ Bryce and M^r^ Inwood for £1,170. Of these none are conveyed, nor is more than a moiety of the purchase-money paid.

Backwell has thus received £461 profit for the part sold, and he demands for his own part £450 profit. His brother demands £450, M^r^ Woolmer £400, M^r^ Bryce and M^r^ Inwood demand £200 besides their charges. The total of the purchase, less M^r^ Casewell's is £6,283 17*s.*, the moiety of which, £3,141 18*s.* 6*d.*, is presently to be paid into the purchasers, besides the profit demanded, £1,968, the sum total being £5,109 18*s.* 6*d.*

The Middle Park of Hampton Court, was sold to Col. Norton, 3 December, but no proceedings have been taken therein except about contracts. 10 Jan. 1654.

Vol. LXV., No. 23. *Jan.* 11, 1654.

15 Nov. 1653. Edward Backwell contracted for £408 15*s.* rent for the meadows, hare warren, Bushy Old Park, new park ground, &c., for £5,722 10*s.*, which, with the trees, &c., comes to £6,638 17*s.*, which is paid. The premises are not conveyed, except part of the new park ground to Rich. Caswell.

13 Dec. 1653. Reginald Merryott for Col. Rich. Norton, contracted for the middle park, called Jockey's Park, at Hampton Court, rent £225, with the materials, £3,701 19*s.* The contract was not signed nor any money paid, and it is therefore void. 12 Jan^y^, 1654.

Vol. LXV., No. 33. Jan. 18, 1654.

7. Order that as [Sydrach] Brice and [John] Innwood are willing to relinquish the contract for the hare warren in Hampton Court, transferred to them by Edm. Backwell, the Trustees for sale of Crown lands issue warrants to their treasurers to pay Brice and Innwood £1,370 therefor. Approved 20 Jan.

Vol. LXVI., No. 7. Feb. 2, 1654.

8. Col. Sydenham reports that a treaty has been had with Edw. Backwell and Joshua Woolnough, about relinquishing lands belonging to Hampton Court contracted for at Worcester House, viz., Bushey Park, the 3 meadows, the new park ground, and the other part of New Park, with the lodge, materials, deer, and timber, and the hare warren, for which there was paid in full of the purchase, £6,638 7*s.*

That there has been paid by virtue of a former order to M^r^ Brice and Inwood, for their interest in the hare warren, part of the said contract (besides £200 allowed him above his purchase money), £1,170

That there is reserved by Richd. Caswell part of the New Park conveyed to him by the trustees under M^r^ Backwell's contract, which makes up the said purchase money, £357 10*s.* Total, £1,527 10*s.* This reduces the original purchase money to £5,110 17*s.*

That on payment of this sum, and of £1,100 over and above the purchase money, viz., £800 to Backwell and £300 to Woolnough, total, £6,210 17*s.*, — being £4,792 8*s.* 6d. to Blackwell and £1,418 8*s.* 6*d.* to Woolnough,—they are willing to relinquish their interest in the premises.

Order thereon, that the said offer be accepted, and that orders be prepared for the said trustees to receive a relinquishment of their interest, and to the Treasurers at Worcester House to pay the respective sums.

Vol. LXVI., No. 23. *Feb.* 9, 1654.

6. Jones, Strickland, and Sydenham to treat with the person that bought the honour of Hampton Court, and with Rich. Caswell, to whom part of the lands are conveyed, to relinquish their interest to the use of the State on reasonable conditions.

13. Order—that as Edw. Blackwell has contracted with the trustees of exempted Crown Lands for Bushy old park, and part of the new park, deer, &c. at Hampton Court, and transferred his interest to Joshua Woolnough, who has paid ½ the purchase money, viz., £1,118 8*s.* 6*d.*, but is willing to relinquish his interest on a profit of £300—the said trustees accept his release of contract, and pay him £1,148 8*s.* 6*d.* Approved 13 Feb.

Vol. LXVI., Nos. 40, 42. *Feb.* 20, 1654.

8. Order that as Edw. Backwell has contracted with the trustees for sale of exempted Crown lands for 3 meadows and the hare warren in Hampton Court, Bushy old park, and part of the new park, and assigned his interest in the hare warren to [Shadrach] Brice and [John] Imwood, ½ of old Bushy park to Joshua Woolnough, and the 3 meadows to his brother John, who has paid therefor £1,242, and is willing to relinquish his interest on repayment, with £658 surplus, which the Protector and Council have accepted, that the trustees receive Backwell's release of contract, and pay him £1,900. Approved 21 Feb.

Order that—as part of the land in the said contract is conveyed to Rich. Caswell, and Edw. Backwell has paid for the remainder, that is, for ½ old Bushy park £1,118 8*s.* 6*d.*, and for new Bushy park £1,632, and is willing to relinquish his contract on payment of £142 surplus,—on his so doing, the trustees pay him £2,892 8*s.* 6*d.* Approved 21 Feb. annexing :—

No. 42 (I. II.) Valuation of the interests in Bushey park of Josh. Woolnough . . Edward Backwell, goldsmith . . " " " . . John Backwell

£	s.	d.
1,418	8	6
1,118	8	6
1,774	0	0
1,900	0	0
£6,210	17	0

The profit given by the State to the purchasers being £1,100.

No. 42 (III. IV.) Notes of the sums required by the several claimants named in the order for re-purchase of Hampton Court lands, viz., £6,638 *7s.* purchase money repaid, and £1,200 surplusage allowed. Total, £7,838 *7s.*

APPENDIX C.

(See pp. 180 and 198.)

INVENTORY OF GOODS MOSTLY CLAIMED AS BELONGING TO CROMWELL, AT HAMPTON COURT PALACE IN 1659.

Taken by order of the Council of State. Now preserved in the Public Record Office. See *State Papers, Domestic, Commonwealth*, vol. cciii, No. 41.

For the Right Honoble the Councell of State.

In obedience to your Honoble order of the Eleventh of June instant commanding us to repaire to Hampton Courte and to take an Account of the Goods in the Howses there soe as there bee noe Imbezillment of them and likewise to take notice of such servants as there remaine alsoe to take care of the Watercourses and Rivers and certify the state of the whole to yor Honour with our opinion what servantes are fitt to bee continued for looking to the house and what is fit to bee done therein.

We doe humbly certify that wee found in severall Roomes these the particular goodes in this Booke mentioned, as followeth :—

[All the articles following, except those to which an asterisk is prefixed, are in the original marked as belonging to Cromwell.]

In the Greate Presence Chamber.

Nine peices of Tapestry hanginge of Ahashuerus and Esther.
*One Turkey Carpett, five yards long.
*One Turkey Carpett, three yards and a halfe long.
*Three Spanish Tables.
Twelve back stooles of guilt leather and one Elbow Chaire.
One paire of Andirons with double brasses.
One paire of Creepers, fire showell, and Tongs with double brasses.
One Spanish Table.

In the Privy Chamber.

*Nine pieces of Tapistry hangings of the old and new Law.
One large fine Persian Carpett.
Eighteene back stooles and one elbow chaire of a Cinamon collour Cloth.
One large joyned table.

In the Supping Chamber or Withdrawing Room

*Five peices of Tapistry hangings of the Morians.
Twelve back stooles of guilt leather.
Fower Spanish Tables.
Three leather carpetts.
Two Courtines of greene bayes for the wyndowes.
One paire of Andirons with double brasses.
One paire of creepers, fire-showell, Tongs and Bellowes.

In the Ballcony Roome.

*Fower peices of rich Arras hangings of ye History of Tobyas.
*One Couch and two Elbow chaires } of Crimson velvett
*Six back stooles } imbroidered with
*One long seate with a cushion } cloth of gold.

One fine Persian carpett.
Three window courtines of red bayes.
One Spanish Table.

In the Clossett next to itt.

Two wyndow Courtines of red cotton.
One paire of small Andirons with creepers.
One Joynd Table.

In the Rich Bedchamber.

*Five peices of rich Arras hangings of the Antiques.
*One peice of the like Arras of Æneas.
*One large persian Carpett under the bed.
*One bedsted with a sackcloth bottome.
*The furniture of rich incarnadine velvett imbroidered very rich with gold and silver conteyning

*Three courtines
*Fower Cantoones
*Deepe vallons and bases
*Fower Cupps
*One French Carpett
*Two Elbow Chaires
*Six back stooles

} of the same velvett, and imbroidered suitable to the said bed.

*The ceeler and head-cloth of the said bed is of rich cloth of gold, with inward vallons, cases for the posts and lynynges of the courtaines and cantoones all of the same.
*Two large wyndow courtines of scarlet cloth, lyned with Crimson Taffety and laced about with gold and silver needle worke lace like acorns.
*One small Spanish table.
One large feather bed and bowlster.
One Canvas Materis.
One holland quilt.
One paire of blankets.
Three large courtins of scarlet bazes being a case about the bed.

One paire of rich guilt stands and a table suitable.
One large looking glasse in an Ebony frame.
One paire of Andirons wi[th] double brasses, and creepers fire shovell and Tongs suitable.
The chaires, stooles, Tables and Stands are covered with scarlet bayes, fower plumes with red and white feathers.
One counterpane of white sattin quilted with silke of severall collours.

In the late Queenes Dressing Roome.

*Three peices of fine Tapistry hangings of Vulcan and Venus.
*One peice of Arras hangings of Lazarus.
One Elbow Chaire, Fower back stooles, One footstoole } of white cloth of Tissue with covers of scarlet bayes.
One paire of Andirons with double brasses and creepers fire-shovell and Tongs suitable.
One paire of Bellowes.
One small screene.
One fine counterfeit Ebbony.
One pair of stands of counterfeit Ebbony.

In his late Highnes Bedchamber.

*Five peices of fine Tapisty hangings of Vulcan and Venus.
Two wyndow courtines one of scarlet bayes, th' other of sarge.
One small couch, Two elbow chaires, Fower back stooles, One carpet } of sky collour damaske and cased with watchet Bayes.
One black Table with a turned frame.
One paire of Andirons with double brasses.
One paire of creepers with fire shovell and Tongs.
One paire of bellowes.

In his Dressing Roome.

*One old Coberd.
One Spanish Table.
Two small Turky Carpetts.
One paire of Andirons with double brasses.
One paire of creepers and fire shovell, Tongs and Bellows.
Fower back-stooles of Turkeyworke.

In Paradice Roome.

*Seaven peices of rich hangings of Arras, of the Tryumphs of the Capitall Sinns.
*One peice of the like Arras of Meleager.
*One chimney peice of Arras of Tobias.
Fower Courtines of watchet Bayes.
Two paire of Andirons.
One paire of Creepers.

In the Long Gallery.

*Nine peices of painting of the Tryumphs of Julius Cæsar done by Andrea Montanea.
One small Billiard board.
One paire of Andirons.
One paire of creepers.

In a syde Gallery adioyning.

One Billiard board.
One paire of Andirons.

In a small closett in the lady Faulconberges lodgings formerly the Duke of Richmond's.

The closet hanged about with old greene perpetuano.
Two back stooles, Three folding stooles, One footestoole } of old greene cloth.

In the Lady Frances' lodgings formerly the late King's Cabinet Roome.

*Five peices of Tapistry hangings of Meleager.
*One peice of Tapistry hangings of Sorteene.
One feather bed and boulster.
One holland Quilt.
One paire of Andirons with double brasses.
One paire of Creepers and fire shovell, Tongs and Bellowes.
Two wyndow Courtines of red bayes.

In a Roome appointed for Strangers.

The roome hang'd with 44 panes of Crimson velvett and cloth of gold.

One Bedstead with a furniture of needle work of poeticall fancyes cut double vallons, Tester, headcloth and fower courtines of greene sattin branched with flowers of gold and silver.

One elbow chair.

Two back stooles of needlework suitable to the bed.

One long seat for a cushion.

One long cushion
One square cushion } of greene cloth of gold.
One footstoole

One counterpane of greene sattin quilted with gold twist.

One large feather bed and boulster.

One Canvas Materis, a holland quilt, and a paire of blanketts.

Seaven guilt cupps and seaven plumes of feathers.

Three courtines of scarlet bayes.

One small Turky Carpett and a looking glass.

One paire of Andirons.

One paire of creepers, a fire shovell, Tongs and a paire of bellowes.

In the L^d President's Roome formerly the late King's Dressing Room.

Two wyndow courtines of watchet bayes.
One paire of Andirons.
One paire of creepers, fire shovell, Tongs and Bellows.

In the next roome, for a servant.

One halfe headed bedsted.
One small feather-bed and boulster.
One paire of blanketts and a rugg.
*One old Table.
*One furniture for a bed of stripe stufte that came from Sweden.

In the late King's Bedchamber.

One paire of Andirons and a fire shovell.
One paire of Tongs and a paire of bellowes.

In a little Roome adjoyning.

One halfe headed bedsted.
One small feather bed and boulster.

In the late King's Withdrawing Roome.

*Two peices of rich Arras hangings of the Antiques.
*One peice of Arras hangings of Meleager.
*Two old Court Cupbords.
*One small peice of Tapistry of the Cardinall's armes.
One large Spanish Table.
One new Turky Carpett.
Eight backe-stooles of Turky worke.

In the Ministers roome formerly for private Oratory.

The roome hanged round with stript stuffe.
One bedsted the furniture of liver collour sarge Contt: Courtines, vallons, and counterpane.
Two folding Stooles } suitable to the Bed.
Two back stooles }
Two small carpetts of stript stuff.
One feather bed and boulster two blankets and a rug.
*One paire of Andirons with creepers, fireshovell and tongs.

In the late King's privy Chamber.

*Fower peices of rich Arras hangings of y^e^ history of Tobias.
*One peice of Arras of Meleager.
*One large elbow chaire of crimson velvet.
Three Spanish Tables and two Turky carpetts.
Two large courtins for ye wyndow of sad collour bayes.
Fower back stooles of Turkey worke of flower potts.

In the late King's presence Chamber.

*Three peices of fine old hangings of the Tryumphs.
*Two peices of the like stuffe of ye Cardinall's armes.
*One Turkey carpett.
Five Spanish Tables.
One large Turkey carpett.
Fower wyndow courtines of sad collour bayes.
Eighteene backstooles of Turky worke of flower pottes.
Two paire of Andirons.
One paire of Creepers, fire shovell and Tongs.

In the late Prince's Gallery.

One hundred, Twenty and seaven hornes of severall sorts of Beasts.
One picture of a large paire of hornes from Amboiz.
Twelve branches for Candles.

In the late Prince's Bedchamber.

*Six peice of good old Tapistry hangings of Sorteene with the Cardinall's armes.

One standing bedsted the furniture of needle-worke being ye labours of Hercules cont: Tester, head-cloth, and double vallons.

Fower Courtines of purple cloth of gold bodkin, lyned with greene and white damaske.

One counterpane of Crimson sattin quilted with gold twist.

One elbow chaire
Three back stooles
One foot stoole
} of needlework suitable to the Bed. This bed brought out of Scotland.

One seate for a long Cushion.
One large feather-bed and boulster.
One Canvas materis and a holland quilt.
One paire of blanketts.
One large foote carpett and a small carpett.
Seaven guilt cupps and seaven plumes of feathers.
One paire of Andirons.
One paire of Creepers, fire shovell, Tongs and bellowes.
One small Table.

In the two next Roomes, being the late Prince's Withdrawing Chamber and Dressing Roome.

Two paire of Andirons.
Two paire of Creepers with fire shovell and Tongs.
Fower new back stooles of Turky worke.
One Spanish Table.

In a Clossett in the Passage to the Tennis Courte.

The roome hang'd with French greene Sarge.

Two elbow Chaires
Two back stooles
Two square cushions
} suitable.

In the Nursery at the end of y^e^ said Passage.

The roome hang'd round with stript stuffe.
One carpet of the same.
One small Table.
Fower leather Chaires.
One elbow chaire } of red say belonging to a bed in the
Three back chaires } wardrobe.

In the lodgings formerly Duke of Hambleton's, late Lord Claypoole's as Master of the Horse (vizt.)

In his Bedchamber.

Two paire of Andirons.
One paire of Bellowes.

In his Dressing Roome.

One elbow Chaire } of cloth of silver rased with velvet and
Fower back Stooles } cased with red bayes.
One paire of Andirons and one fire shovell.

In his w^th^ Drawing Roome.

One large Couch } of yellow cloth of gold and cased with
One elbow Chaire } red bayes.
Three back stooles }
One paire of Andirons.
One paire of Creepers, Fire shovell, Tongs and Bellowes.

In a small Clossett adyoning.

The Closset hang'd with liver Collour sarge.

In his Dyning roome adioyning.

Twelve back stooles of Turky worke.
Three Spanish Tables and two small turky Carpetts.
Fower wyndow Courtines of greene bayes.
One paire of Creepers, fire shovell and Tongs.

In another Dyning Roome adioyning.

*Six peices of ye old Tapistry hangings of the Amazons or Hypolite.
*Two old Turky Carpetts.
One Couch
Six back chaires } of Turkey worke.
Six high stooles
Two Spanish Tables.
Three wyndow courtins of Stript stuffe.
Three peices of stript stuffe under y^e^ wyndowes.

In another Roome adioyning.

One wyndow Courtine
One peice under the wyndow } of stript stuffe.
One paire of creepers, fire shovell, Tongs and bellowes.

In a roome next to it for Servants.

One bedsted the Courtines of linsey woolsey and narrow vallons of Damaske.
One small feather bed and boulster.
One paire of blanketts and a rug.

In a Clossett in the late King's private Oratory.

Two stript Courtines.
*One old Spanish Table.

In a little Roome adioyning.

*Three old Coberds.
*One settee.
*One old Table covered with greene cloth.

In the Comptrowler Co^{rt} Jones lodgs, formerly the Lord Chamberlines.

One roome hang'd round with liver collour sarge.
One standing bedsted the furniture of like Sarge cont.
Fower courtines, head cloth, Tester and Counterpane wth fower cups.
Two elbow Chaires
Five folding stooles } suitable to the hangings.
One Carpett
One Feather-bed and bowlster.
One paire of blanketts and a rugg.

In a roome adioyning.

*One feather bed and boulster.
*One paire of blanketts and a rugg.

In his Withdrawing Roome.

*Two pieces of Hercules } of Tapistry hangings.
*One peice of Tryumphs
Two Deale Tables.

In his Dyning Roome

Two dozen of Turky worke Chaires.
Two Spanish Tables.
One side Table of Deale.

In a Roome for Servants adioyning.

Three long formes of Deale.
One large Table standing on Tressells.

In a roome for Servants above Staires.

One standing bedsted w^th^ stript stuffe furniturne.
Two square Stooles } suitable to the Bed.
Two Chaires }
One feather bed and boulster.
Two blankets and a rug.
*One Table and a Coberd.

In ye la: Claypool's nursery, being parte of the Armory.

The roome hang'd with stript stuffe.

In Mrs. Grinawayes chamber, gentlewoman to the Lady Faulconberge, being part of the Armory.

The roome hang'd round w^th^ greene and yellow stript stuffe.
One standing bedsted the furniture of greene sarge cont: fower courtines head cloth and counterpane.
One feather bed and boulster.
One downe pillow.
Two blanketts.
One Carpet of stript stuffe.

In a roome below Stairs where Mrs. Fairecloth lay formerly the late Lady Denbighes.

*One standing bedsted, ye furniture in the Wardrobe.
*One bed.
One bowlster, two blankets and a rugg.

Two folding stooles } suitable to the said Bed.
Three Chaires }
One Spanish Table.
One Dressing Table.

In the next Roome for a servant.

One halfe headed bedsted w^th^ a Canopy of greene and yellow stript stuffe.
One feather bed and bowlster.
One blanket and a rug.

In a Roome adioyning.

Two Spanish Tables.

In Mad'mozelle Durett's Roome.

The roome hang'd round with stript stuffe.
One standing bedsted with furniture of the like stuffe.
Two Elbow Chaires } of the same Stuffe.
Two Square Stooles }
One side Table.

In the La: Denbyes chamber, late M^r.^ Clayton's.

One brasse figure of Mercury.

In the Roome where the young lady Cromwell's gentlewoman lay below staires.

One bedsted.
One Table.

In a roome below staires where the Servants Dyne, formerly called the Vestrey.

*Five tables and Eight formes.

In Mr. Maidstone's lodgs, formerly the Earle of Hollande.

One halfe head bedsted with a Canopy of greene Sarge edged with guilt leather.
One canvas and one fustian quilt.
One bolster and a pillow.
Two blankets and a rug.

In the Blew Roome.

Six back chaires of Turky worke and one Spanish Table.
One pair of Andirons and Creepers with brasses.
A paire of Tongs and bellows.
*One carpet of Crewell.

In his Dyning Roome.

Five Spanish Tables.
Tenn back Stooles and a high stoole of Turky worke.
One paire of Andirons, fire shovell and Tongs.

In the Lower Wardrobe.

One standing Bedsted the furniture of gold collour damaske cont:
Fower courtines and double vallons
Tester and headcloth
One Carpet and fower Cupps
} suitable to the Bed.
Fower Courtines of gold collour bayes being a case about the Bed.
One Case for the Carpet of the like Bayes.

One Counterfeit Ebbony Shelfe.

Fowre pieces of greene Taffety hangings lyned with Sarge for a Closset and a wyndow Courtine of the same.

One standing Bedsted the furniture of sky colloured Taffety and imbroidered with silke and gold after the indian fashion lyned with sky colloured Sarcenet cont:

Fester and head cloth
Double vallance.
Four courtines.
One Counterpane.
Four cupps & 4 plumes of Feathers.
One Carpett and a screene cloth.
} suitable to the Bed.

Three courtines of watchet bayes being a Case for the Bed.

One piece of the like bayes to cover the screene cloth.

Two small looking glasses, one of them being broke.

One standing Bedsted the furniture of a sad collour.

Fower courtines single vallons and Carpett suitable.

The Tester headcloth and single vallons being of clouded Taffety.

The Courtines lyned with the same and a counterpane.

Fower Cupps and fower sprigs of silke to stand upon them.

And a Cyprus Chest that this bed lyes in.

*Two fine persian Carpetts Eight yards long a piece.

*One Turky Carpet five yards long.

*One Turky Carpet fower yards and a quarter long.

*One Turky Carpet Three yards ½ long.

*One Turky Carpet Three yards long.

*One Turky Carpet Three yards long.

One Turky Carpet fower yards ½ long.

One Turky Carpet three yards ½ long.

One Turky Carpet three yards long.

Three Turky chest Carpetts two yards long a piece.

Two small Carro Carpets one yard and three q'ters long a piece.

Three small yellow ground carpetts for syde Tables.

*One red and two blew sarge swede furnitures for Bedds.

*One stript stuffe sweed furniture for a bed.

*Two old footstooles of cloth of gold.

Six cushions of cloth with red leather bottomes.

One furniture for a bed of stript stuffe used for the Lord Richardes ladyes gentleman usher.

One furniture of liver colloured sarge belonging to a bed M^r^ Faircloth lay in.

One led collour sarge furniture M^r^ Lockeire lay in.

One piece of grey stript stuffe hangings that hang'd M^r^ Lockeire's roome.

Greene sarge hangings y^t^ hanged M^r^ Fairclothe roome.

Two Courtines of greene kersey edged about w^th^ guilt leather.

One furniture of red say for the Lord Richard's nursery used.

One peice of stript stuffe with pillars y^t^ hang'd the said roome.

One furniture of stript stuffe used for the Comptson Butler.

One furniture of stript stuffe with hangings to the roome of the same used for the Ld Richards ladys gentlewomen.

One furniture of stript stuffe with hangings to ye roome of the same used for the Ld Richards gentlemen.

Two back chaires and fower stooles to the furniture of the aforesaid two roomes.

One bundle of stript stuffe hangings used in the roome where the Doctours lay.

One peice of stript stuffe hangings that hanged on the roome for M^r^ Faircloth.

One furniture of a liver collour sarge for ye lady Clapoles gentlewomen.

One back stoole and two square stooles of the same.

Nine courtines for wyndowes.
Two peices to hang under wyndowes. } of stript stuffe.
Seaven small Carpetts.

Two small Carpetts of greene serge belonging to M^r^. Faircloth.

One peice of stript stuffe that hanged a closset for Auditor Barrington.

*One needleworke carpett five yards long.

Two chaires of sad collour cloth.

Twenty and two chaires and two high stooles of Turky worke.

Fower peices of Tapistry hangings of David & Abigaill.

Two peices of Tapistry hangings of the old & new lawe, being parte of the suite y^t^ hangs in ye late Queenes privy chamber.

Five pieces of old Tapistry hangings of the Prodigall sonn.

One small peice of Arras hangings of Æneas.

One peice of Tapistry hangings of Meleager.
Three fustian Quilts and one small holland Quilt.
One round down bolster.
Nineteene feather beds and boulsters wth paires of blankett and ruggs.
One old feather bed and boulster.
Five small feather beds and boulsters with paires of blanketts & ruggs.
One canvas materis belonging to the red say bed.
Thirteen canvas materisses with feather boulsters and ruggs.
Five paire of small blanketts.
*Three old cloth blanketts.
*Two small feather beds and boulsters with paires of blankets and ruggs.
*Forty chaires and fifteene high stooles of Russia leather.
*Five blew courtines of Linsey Woolsey.
*Eleven downe pillowes.

In the Upper Wardrobe.

Fower Elbow Chaires, Six back stooles, One footstoole. } of gold collour damaske and cased with yellow bayes suitable to y^{e} furniture in y^{e} lower wardrobe.

One small couch, One Elbow chaire, Two low stooles, Two Cushions. } of greene Taffety and cased with greene bayes, being suitable to y^{e} greene taffety hangings in her late Highnes closet.

One small Table of Counterfeite Ebbony.
Two large Tables and a hanging shelfe of the same.
Nine Cushions of turky worke bottomed with red leather.
One large China Jarr.
Two small Jarrs of purslane.
One wanscot Table to the gold collour Damaske bed.
One Cabbinet and frame of Speckle wood.
One small wanscott Chest of drawers.
Tenn paire of blacke stands.

In the late Queene's Oratory where Mrs. Blowfeild lay.

One small standing bed the furniture of greene sarge cont:
Tester and head cloth
A Counterpane
Fower Courtins
One Carpett 4 Cupps
Two back Chaires.
} suitable to the said bed.
One small feather bed & boulster.
One paire of blanketts and a down pillow.
One wainscot Table and two Deale tables.
One small back stoole of Calves leather.
One Deale presse for Clothes.
*One presse of wanscot covered with printer's leather.
*One Courte coberd.

In Mr. Cofferer's man's Roome.

One Sweed standing bedsted the furniture of Red sarge Cont:
Fower Courtines and a headcloth with a buckram Tester.
One featherbed and boulster.
Two blanketts and a rugg.
One Spanish Table and one half-headed bedsted.

In a roome formerly the Ury.

One large Deale Table.

In the Great Hall.

value about £300. { One large Organ and a Chaire Organ which was brought from Maudlin Colledge in Oxford.

In the Roome over the Lower Wardrobe.

*One standing Bedsted the furniture of watchet velvett cont :
*Tester & headcloth
*Three Courtines
*Fouer Cartoones
*Fower Cupps
*One Counterpane
*Double vallons
*One Elbow Chaire
*Two high stooles
*One foote stoole
*One square cushion
*One long cushion.
} of the like velvett and laced w^th^ gold and silver lace.

*One long seate to lay the cushion on and fower plumes of feathers.

One large feather bed and boulster.
One canvas materis.
One paire of blanketts.
Two Deale Tables.

In M^rs^ Waterhouse Roome, formerly the Queenes Robe Roome.

The Roome hanged round with freench greene sarge.

One standing bedsted the furniture of greene sarge cont : tester, headcloth, double vallons, fower courtines fower cupps and one counterpane.

One carpett
Two backstooles
Fower folding stooles
} suitable to the said bed.

One feather bed and boulster and a Downe pillow.
One paire of blanketts and a rug.
One small wanscot Table.

In the Roome adioyning.

One halfe headed bedsted.
*One Spanish Table.

In Co^ll Will: Cromwell's lodgs. formerly S^r Math: Listers.

*One halfe headed bedsted.
*One Table and a long forme.
*One Courte Coberd.

In M^r How the ministers Withdrawing roome, formerly Secretary Windebank's.

The roome hanged with hare colloured stript stuffe.
One carpet of the same.
Five back chaires and one high stoole of russia leather.
One Spanish Table.

In M^r How's Bed-chamber.

The Roome hang'd round with grey stript stuffe.
One standing bed the furniture of the like stript stuffe.
Single vallons, Tester, headcloth, 4 courtines and a carpet.
One Feather bed and boulster.
One paire of blankets and a rug.
Two back stooles and two folding stooles of sarge.

In the next Roome for a servant.

One halfe headed bedsted.
One small feather bed and boulster.
One paire of blanketts.

In a roome formerly the late King's gentleman ushers, late Mr. Robinson's, yeoman of the Race.

One halfe headed bedsted.
One feather bed & boulster.
Two blankets and a rug.

In a roome formerly the Signetts' office late Doctour Clarkes.

One halfe headed bedsted.
One Deale Table and a forme.

In a roome formerly the late Queenes gent: late M^r^ Jones the Carvers.

Two backstooles of russia leather.
One Deale Table.

In a roome formerly for the late King's robes late M^r^ Birds.

One halfe headed bedsted.
Two formes.
One Courte Coberd.

In a roome formerly the L^d^ Treasurer's Bedchamber.

One greate Deale presse.
One half headed bedsted.
One paire of iron Doggs.
One greate fireshovell.

In a Roome formerly the Bishop of Canterburyes late the Lady Claypoole's Nursery.

Seaven peices of Tapistry hangings of Artimesia.
Eight peices of Tapistry hangings of Orlando.
One large persian Carpett seaven yards long lyned with blew linnen.
One square old Turkey cutt Carpett.

Fower Elbow Chaires
Fower backe Stooles
One large Couch
One long Seate
One Cushion
One Footstoole
} of sky colloured taffety imbroidered with silke and gold after the Indian fashion, and cased with blew bayes suitable to ye furniture in the lower Wardrobe.

Fower elbow Chaires
Fower folding stooles
One footstoole
} of sad collour cloth, imbroidered with silke in trayles and flowers and cased with sad collour bayes suitable to ye Bed y^{t} lyes in the Cyprus Chest in y^{e} lower wardrobe.

One large looking glasse in an Ebbony frame wth a string of silke and gold.
One wanscot Table and one Spanish Table.
One greene thread plush stoole.
One canvas Materis and a holland quilt.
One fine Downe bed and bowlster.
One paire of Spanish blankets.
One large feather bed and bowlster.
One canvas Materis and a holland Quilt.
One paire of Spanish blankets.

In the Laundry.

Three halfe headed bedsteds.
Three feather beds and boulsters.
Three paire of blanketts & three ruggs.
Three Downe pillowes.
Three iron grates and two Coppers.

In the two Porter's lodges.

Two halfe headed bedsteds.
Two feather beds & boulsters.
Two paire of blanketts & two ruggs.

In M^r^ Kerbyes roome yeoman of the bin cellar.

One halfe headed bedsted w^th^ rayles.
One furniture of red sarge Cont. fower Courtines, a headcloth and a tester of buckram.
One feather bed and boulster.
One blankett ; a rug ; and a Downe pillow.
Two stooles of russia leather.
One Deale Table.

In M^r^ Drewer the Granary man's Roome.

One halfe headed bedsted with rayles.
One Tweed furniture of strype stuffe cont. three courtines a headcloth and a tester of buckram.
One feather bed and bowlster.
One paire of blanketts and a rug.
Two backstooles and one high stoole of russia leather.

In Robert Dobson's roome, one of the grooms of ye stables.

One halfe-headed bedsted.
One canvas materis and a feather bowlster.
One paire of blankets and a rugg.

In Thomas Beard's roome, another of ye groomes.

One featherbed and bowlster.
Two blanketts and a rugg.

In the Dairy Maid's Roome.

One halfe-headed bedsted.
One feather bed and boulster.
Two blanketts and a rugg.

In the Lady Claypooles man's Chamber.

One standing Bedsted the furniture of pink-colloured sarsnet cont. headcloth and tester, three courtines fower cantoones, fower Cupps and fower spriggs of silke, one counterpane and eighteene silke strings wth tassells to tye up the courtines.

Two Elbow Chaires
Two Back Chaires
One foote-stoole
Two long Seates.
} suitable to the bed and cased with pink-collour'd bayes.

One carpet of the same.
Three courtines of bayes being a Case about the bed.
One Elbow Chaire of lemon collour sarsnet with a foote-stool.
One long seate and cushion of the same cased with yellow bayes.
One featherbed and Boulster.
One holland Quilt and Spanish blanket.
Two wyndow Courtines of pink collour bayes.
One Turky foote Carpett five yards long.
One standing bedsted with a furniture of liver collour sarge lyned with lemon collour sarsnet cont: Tester and headcloth and counterpane of the like sarsnet, as alsoe inward vallons of the same, fower courtines and outward vallons, one Carpet and fower cupps of the same.

One Elbow Chaire
Two back Stooles
Fower folding stooles
} suitable to the bed.

One featherbed and boulster.
Three blanketts and one holland Quilt.
One long black hanging shelfe for books.
One looking Glasse.

One ordinary blanket.
One wanscot Table and one Deale Table.
Memorandum. Where the lynes are drawn in the margant those goods by the wardrobe keeper are said to belong to his late Highness.

In the Banquetting house in the Mount Garden.

*Twelve wainscot scollop Chaires w^th^ backs.
*Eight peices of grotescoe painting on cloth with Cheilde, over them.
*Two peices of the same over the doores.
*One large concave Sundiall of Stone.

In the great Banquetting howse below these.

*A marke head and a scollop basin of white marble.
*One large ovall Table of blacke and white marble.

In the Privy Garden.

*One brasse Statue of Venus
*One brasse Statue of Cleopatra
*One white marble Statue of Adonis
*One white marble Statue of Apollo
} with fower pedestalls of stone under them.

*One large fountaine of blacke marble with a curbe of Eight cants about it of the same marble lyned with lead.

*Fower scollop basins
*Fower Sea-monsters
*Three Scrowles
*Fower boyes holding Dolphins
} of brass about the Fountaine.

*One large brasses Statue on the top of the Fountaine called Arethusa.[1]
*Fower large flower potts of lead.
*One large bench of Oake, the backe lyned with Deale.
*Five stone rolls with fower iron frames.
*Fower large backe seates of Deale and one old one.

[1] See page 244.

In the Cloyster Courte.

*One Stone roll with an iron frame.

In the Bowling Greene.

*Two large Seates with Covers of Oake and Deale.
*Two greene back seates of Oake.
*One stone roll with an iron frame.
*One large wood roll with a wood frame.
*One large Horizontal Dyall of brasse with a pedestall of carved stone.

In the Moate Garden.

*One stone roll with an iron frame.

In the Chappell.

*A pulpitt standing on a table of Deale.
*Twelve long formes.

In the Anti-chappell.

*A Cedar planke eight foote square lying on two formes.

In his late Highness' Kitchin.

*Six very large copper pottes tin'd.
*Two of a smaller size tin'd.
*Five brasse kettles tin'd wth iron feete to them.
*Two greate copper pans to boyle fish in.
*Two very large gridirons.
*Fower large iron dripping panns.
*Three iron Trewetts.
*Six storing panns of Copper tin'd.
*Fower pudding panns.
*Five large brasse peices with holes in them to take fish out of y^{e} panns.

*One long Copper with a false bottom to boyle fish in.
*Three greate frying panns.
*Eleven brasse flat dishes tin'd over.
*Nine spitts.
*Three brasse scummers and one brasse ladle.
*Eighteen wooden trayes.
*Five cleavers or chopping knives.
*Eleven small molds or pastipans.
*One paire of large iron racks.
*One Copper to boyle meate in covered with lead.

In a Roome at the end of the wardrobe.

*Fowerteene paire of andirons with double brasses.
*Nine paire of iron Creepers with brasses and 11 paire without brasses.
*One paire of greate iron doggs.
*Twenty two fireshovells with brasses.
*Seaven plaine fire shovells.
*Three greate fire shovells.
*Three paire of plaine tongs.
*Tenn paire of ordinary bellowess.
*One paire of the best bellowes.
*Nine Spanish Tables.
*Fower Joyned Deale Tables.

In the Scullery.

*Twelve large pewter Dishes
*Fowerteene lesser Dishes
*Nine Dishes of a third size
*Fifteene Dishes of the fowrth size
*Sixteene Dishes of the fifth size
*Two dozen of Trencher plates
*Two pastey plates
*Six pye plates
*Five sawcers
*Two stoole panns
} of Pewter.

*Two dishes tin'd
*One Scummer
*Two Coppers
} of Brasse.

In the Comptrowler's Kitchin.

*One very greate pott
*Three other greate potts
*Two greate panns
*Eighteen panns or Cullenders
*Two peices to take up fish
*Six dishes & Eight tin'd Chafrs
*Fower sawce panns
*Two Scummers
*Two ladles
*One mortar
} of brasse.

*One large frying pann
*Two dripping panns
*Twenty Spitts
*One large fireshovell
*One peale & one pestle
*One paire of greate rackes
} of Iron.

*Two gridirons.
*One Cisterne covered with lead.

In the Pastrey.

*One large pott with a Cover
*fower Chafors
*Eight greate dishes tin'd
*Eight small pans tin'd
*Sixe large Covers
*One mortar
*Three greate Ladles
*Two little Candlesticke
*Six greate Collenders tin'd
*Two greate pans wth covers tin'd
*Seaven greate saucepans tin'd
*Two lesser saucepans tin'd
*Fifteene saucers tin'd
*Two greate Scumers & two small ones
} of Brasses.

*Fower peales
*One pestle
*One raker
*four screw'd Candlesticks
*Two Chopping Knives
} of iron.

In the flesh Larder.

*One large Cisterne for water
*One brine Cisterne
*One powdering place
} covered wth lead.
*fower large Dressors of Elme set on tressells.
*One paire of scales wth weights weighing two hundred.

In the Brewhouse.

*One Copper.
*One mash tun, and underbacke.
*One Guill tun and two upper backs.

Store Cisternes.

*One large Store Cisterne in the Privy Garden which serves the greate fountaine there.

*One large Cisterne under the Square stone Courte that serves the fountaine and Maze there.

*One large Cisterne in the Kitchin Garden to serve the Kitchin and Offices on that side.

In the Howse Maids' Roome.

*Twenty Stoole panns
*Fowerteene Chamber potts
*Eight pewter Basons
*Two Cisternes
} of Pewter.

In the Grooms of the Chambers Roomes.

*Twenty two large Candlesticks
*One perfuming pott
*Twelve branches for Candles
*One Warming pann
} of Brasse.
*Seaventeene paire of tin'd Snuffers.
*Thirteene pewter Candlesticks.
*One halfe headed bedsted.
*One Spanish Table.

May it please yo^{r} Hon^{rs}.

As to the other partes of y^{r} Hon^{rs} order vizt:

That wee should take notice what Servants remaine at Hampton Court, as alsoe care of the Watercourses and Rivers.

Wee humbly certify

That M^{r} Kenersley (as we are informed) was of late ordered to be Howsekeeper, as well as Wardrobe Keeper there, under whome there are these Servants (vizt.)

Richard Marriott { who looketh to the wardrobe and house.
John Clemente { Porter of the foregate of the house.
Robert Blanch { Porter of the gate that leads into the Paddock Course.

As to the safeguard of the goods in the house, wee humbly conceive it necessary for the present to continue as yet these two men untill the goods by yo^{r} Hon^{rs} order shalbe otherwise disposed of.

Gardiners { Tobyas Yares
John Darley.

As to the watercourses and Rivers wee humbly Certifye that there are severall pipes broken that lead from Coome park hill and Hampton Town unto the house alsoe y^{e} River hath been turned

out of its course by severall persons for private use & likewise stopt by weeds which wee are now clearing to supply the park and ponds for the preserving of the fish.

Lastly though the parkes were not mentioned in yo^{r} Hono^{be} order for our Inspection, yet the Comon wealth having a considerable interest there, wee humbly certify

That in the House parke the number of Deere are computed to bee about Seaven hundred.

And in Bushy parke about seaventeene hundred, greate and small—And of Red Deere about thirty.

The servantes relating to those parks being as following

M^{r}. Place	Ranger to both the parkes.	
Keep^{rs} of ye House pke	Charles Daine. William Myles.	
Huntsman	Thomas Lovell	formerly under-keeper of Richmond parke.
Keep^{s} of Bushy pke	Richard Browning William Howling	These have had of late two men allowed und^{r} them.

C. Denely. John Embree.

Endorsed

Certiff^{t} of Goods & Servants at Hampton Court.
Ord^{d}. 18 June 1659.

APPENDIX D.

ACCOUNTS FOR VARIOUS WORKS DONE AT HAMPTON COURT IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

I. THE TENNIS COURT. (Harl. MSS. No. 1656, Folios 215 *et seq.*)

Dec. 1660.

Masons, Imployed in squaring, working, and fitting of stones to make the damboes (tambours?) in the Tennis Courte, sawing part of the blacke marble for the line Crosse the Courte.

John Ashlee——xvii daies £2 2 6
William Ffitch—xvii daies £2 2 6

Carpenters. Imployed in plateing all that side of the Tennis Courte next the Garden new plancking both sides of the s[d] courte upon the wall.

Bricklayers. Imployed in tileing y[e] Long Gallory going out of the privy Lodgings to the New Tennis Court, on that side next the parke, working up with bricks, and p[te] of the new Tennis Court wall, and underpinning all the plateing after the Carpenters, on that side next the garden, huinge, rubbing, squareing, peeringe, and scimonting (cementing) of tiles for to pave the Tennis Court.

Sawyers. Imployed in cuting out of timber into divers scantlings, viz[t] for plates and other uses to be used about the Tennis Courte.

Jan: 1660-1.

Bricklayers imployed in Lathing and tileing of ye Tennis Courte Keepers house mending ye Ranges in ye Kitchinge and makeing a new boyling place.

Feb. 1660-1.

Masons—squaring & working of ffree stone for the Tumber belonging to the Tennis Court.

Carpenters—taking down the gallery at the Tennis Court, and the roofe of the end gallery where the hazard is, planning all the timbers and seting them up again, etc.

Sawyers—in cutting out of new & old timbers into several scantlings for rafters for ye Tennis Courte. . .

March 1660-1.

Carpenters plaining and shooting of deale boords to cover the galleries at the Tennis Court over the side gallery and both the ends; working and framing the timbers for the whole frame of the side gallery and both ends; fastening of peeces to the wall to lay the joysts upon & pinning them all down; boarding the gallery over head, making of frames for the nets to catch the balls.

Bricklayers—working up the bricke worke of the gallery at the Tennis Court, huinge and squarring of bricks, mending the buterisses there next the park side, cuting out 3 windows in the little roome nere the Tennis Court, ... working up with brick between the wall and the stone worke of the Tambour. (*Folio* 229.)

To John Phillips Turner for turninge 9 cullums (columns) for the Tennis Court at 6^{d} the peece; & for turning 4 other cullumes for that place at 12^{d} the peece.

To John Gregory for 600 of f^{t} square paving tiles. (*Folio* 231.)

To John Miles, Smith for 43 great thimbles for 2 curtain rods for the Tennis Court.

April 1661.

Carpenters making a frame for the mason to sett their saw in to saw the black marble for the Line crosse the Tennis Court. (*Folio* 235).

Plaisterers imployed in burning of plaister of Paris, & laying of a great part of the walls of the Tennis Court therewith. (*Folio* 236.)

May 1661.

Masons working black marble for the Line to goe on crosse the Tennis Court, making the grill by the Tambor. (*Folio* 241.)

II. The Parks. (Harl. MSS. No. 1656, Folio 216. Dec. 1660.)

Carpenters Imployed in making of a large square to sett out the worke in the parke by, for the trees and river, clearinge out of poles for stakes, sharpening of them & helping to drive the stakes to sett the ground.

III. Miscellaneous.

1. *The Ferry.* (Harl. MSS. No. 1656, Folio 232.)

To Simon Winsloo Ferryman at Hampton Court for his allowances for one quarter of a yeare last past for ferrying over the workmen & Labourers 10/-.

2. *The Great Hall.* (Harl. MSS. No. 1618, Folio 204).

Joyners Imployed in making two paire of doores for the Great Hall and fitting the Ironwork &c. setting them up and making one paire of doores for the Duchess of Yorke's bedchamber.

3. *The Astronomical Clock.* (Harl. MSS. No. 1618, Folio 219, Oct. 1664.)

To Robert Streeter, Serjant Painter for guilding and painting the great Diall in the Fountain Court & shadowing of all the Letters, Ciphers, and Characters and painting of the landskips and seapeices £48 16. For guilding and painting the Clock Diall that is over the other side the gatehouse £11 7 0.



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THE

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VOL. I.

IN TUDOR TIMES.

BY ERNEST LAW.

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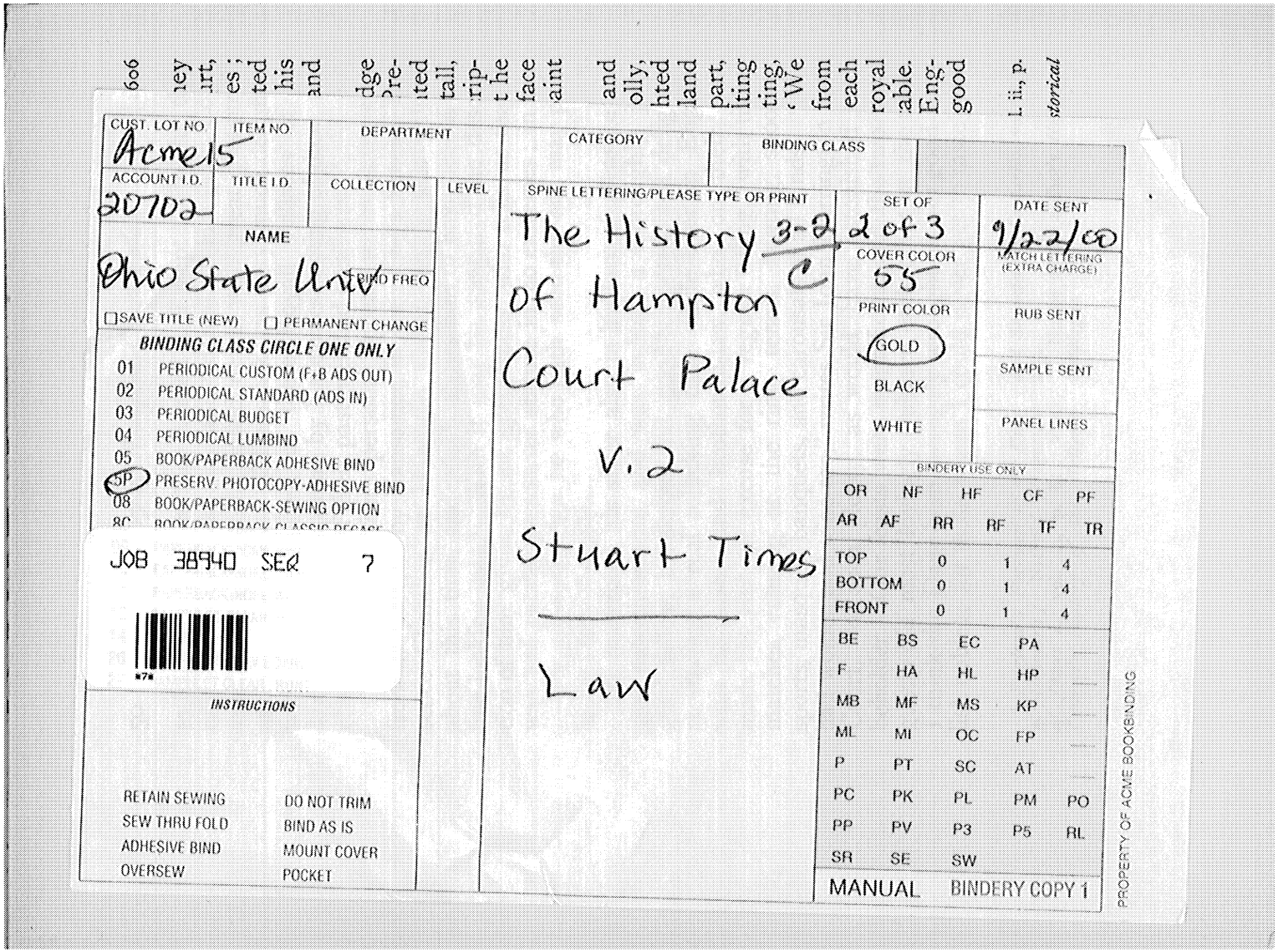


players,"[1]—an entry which seems to refer to a recent acting of the piece, though it may well be the case that it had been presented the previous year, during the grand Christmas festivities of 1603-4, and that its publication was deferred. The play, of which there was formerly a copy in the Roxburghe Library,[2] and of which there is now one in the Dyce Library in the South Kensington Museum, is printed in black letter with the following title:—"The Faire Maide of Bristow; as it was plaide at Hampton, before the King and Queenes most excellent Majesties. Printed at London for Thomas Pavyer, and are to be solde, at his shop at the entrance into the Exchange. 1605."

The King was again at the Palace at the end of September, 1605, when, on Michaelmas Day, Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, was sworn a Privy Councillor;[3] and he remained here, through October, till just before the meeting of Parliament and the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot; returning again in December, during the trial of the conspirators.[4] He was often at this Palace, also, in the February following for a few days in the middle of the week, probably to have some sport in the parks.[5]

In the summer of 1606, Hampton Court was honoured by a visit from the Queen's brother, King Christian IV. of Denmark, who was over in England spending a short time with his relations. He was accompanied by a bodyguard of a hundred men dressed in blue velvet and silver, with twelve trumpeters and twelve pages. He and his suite left Greenwich on August 6th, accompanied by his sister and brother-in-law, to inspect their Majesties' palaces in the neighbourhood of London and to hunt in the parks. Having gone first

[1] Arber's *Transcripts of the Stationers' Registers*, vol. iii., p. 283.
[2] *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i., p. 495, and vol. iii., p. 1065.
[3] Howe's *Chronicle;* and *Progresses*, &c., vol. i., p. 577.
[4] *State Papers, Domestic, James I.*, vol. xv., No. 65.
[5] Nichols' *Progresses*, vol. iii., p. 1069.



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